

The Hispanic American Historical Review

Vol. XII

May, 1932

No. 2

HISPANIC-AMERICAN PHASES OF THE "BURR CONSPIRACY"

In the month of August, 1804, the city of Philadelphia entertained three noteworthy adventurers. Two of the ill-assorted trio—Aaron Burr and General James Wilkinson—were, and still are, well known. The third, Charles Williamson, had during the previous decade, achieved considerable notoriety in connection with land deals in western New York, where his speculative activities brought him into contact with Burr.¹ After withdrawing from that enterprise in 1802, he had returned to England but shortly re-appeared in America as the chief organizer of what he called the "Levy". This, it appears, was a recruiting project that extended from the Carolinas to the Canadas and was designed to embody recent British arrivals in an enterprise against the West Indies.² Williamson at this time emphasized the French colonies as the object of proposed attack but his later letters reveal a close connection with Miranda³—a connection that would be brought

¹ O. Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase* (Rochester, N. Y., 1851), pp. 249-279, 315-324; E. B. O'Callaghan (editor), *Documentary History of the State of New York*, II. 655-678; Guy H. McMaster, *History of the Settlement of Steuben County, N. Y.* (Bath, N. Y., 1853), pp. 58-147; Paul D. Evans, *The Holland Land Company* (Buffalo, 1924), *passim*.

² Williamson to Lord Melville, October 6, 1804; Williamson to Sir Evan Nepean, February 2, 1805 (manuscript letters from the Melville Papers in possession of the Newberry Library, Chicago).

³ *Id.* to *id.*; Williamson to Lord Justice Clerk, January 3, 1806, July 12, 1807; W. S. Robertson, *Life of Miranda* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1929), I. 284-286.

into the open when Spain, as was expected, should join France in the war against Great Britain.

The recruiting activities of Williamson, therefore, link him with the chief forerunner of Hispanic-American independence and with Burr and Wilkinson as putative invaders. The last-named pair had long since aspired to that rôle. Burr's intimate biographer endows him with such a desire as early as the previous mid-decade.⁴ His implacable rival, Alexander Hamilton, had also cherished the same ambition and in the course of our warlike controversy with France had seemed in a fair way to realize it, when the unsympathetic president, John Adams, ended at the same time incipient hostilities and dreams of colonial conquest.⁵ This disappointment, we may observe, may have had some influence on Hamilton's reluctance at a later date to shun a duel with Burr and also on the latter's determination to force one.

But in his Hispanic predilections, Wilkinson, easily surpassed them both. His earliest mercenary connections with Spanish colonial authorities had been established nearly a score of years before.⁶ Manifestly treasonable in character, if not in performance, they had proved lucrative to the crafty general, even if they had not rendered him financially carefree nor loyal for long to his lavish patrons. In a later boastful confession, he claims that for a decade and a half before 1806 he had been planning the conquest of the northern provinces of New Spain by way of Santa Fé.⁷ From other statements we know that his protégé, Philip Nolan, had made this the chief purpose of later horse-trading ventures into Texas. Only a few weeks before the rendezvous at Philadelphia, Wilkinson had furnished the secretary of war with a choice col-

⁴ M. W. Davis, *Memoirs of Aaron Burr*, II. 376.

⁵ C. R. King, *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, II. 281-306, *passim*; 649-666; C. F. Adams, *Works of John Adams*, VIII. 581, 585, 600.

⁶ W. R. Shepherd, "Wilkinson and the beginnings of the Spanish Conspiracy", in *American Historical Review*, IX. 490-506.

⁷ W. F. McCaleb, *Aaron Burr Conspiracy*, p. 128.

lection of manuscript maps that related in detail to Texas, New Mexico, and the other northern Spanish provinces—largely based, he averred, on Nolan's personal observations.⁸ Wilkinson had, it is true, recently renewed his Spanish connections and the renewal had been sanctioned by a twelve-thousand dollar payment,⁹ but Wilkinson never determined his course merely from mercenary motives. The main chance directed his momentary loyalty, and just now he was showing more than casual interest in the fortunes of his friend Burr.

That deft manipulator of men and measures stood, indeed, in need of aid. Repudiated by his party associates in the federal government and recently defeated for the governorship of New York, he was under indictment in two states for his share in the fatal duel at Weehawken. Back in New York City his creditors had pounced upon his heavily encumbered real estate and personal property, while his political enemies made editorial shreds of his shaky reputation.¹⁰ He needed help and encouragement, even from such a tainted source as the wily Wilkinson.

And the double-dealing general could afford him encouragement. When, late in the preceding May, Wilkinson reached New York from New Orleans, where he had served as one of the two American commissioners in the transfer of Louisiana, he had immediately sought out Burr and had evidently concerted with him a plan of action that might affect the Spanish dominions.¹¹ The tense situation on the Florida and Texas borders threatened to precipitate war between Spain and the

⁸ Wilkinson to Dearborn, July 13, 1804, MSS. War Department, Washington. Enclosed with this letter is a twenty-two page memorial, which mentions the maps but they do not now accompany the memorial.

⁹ I. J. Cox, "General Wilkinson and his later Intrigues with the Spaniards", in *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XIX. 794-812. In preparing the present offering the author has made free use of other articles to which the author is referred for more detailed references.

¹⁰ Davis, *Memoirs*, II. Chaps. XVI, XVII.

¹¹ Wilkinson to Burr, May 23, 1804, Correspondence with A. Burr, MSS. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

United States and in the ensuing hostilities each prefigured for himself a high position and wide field for his talents. Each would resent the sort of domination that Hamilton had exercised in a somewhat similar situation five years before and Burr had still more deadly personal issues to settle with his persistent Federalist rival. This occasioned the duel insistently provoked and murderously concluded. Hence Burr's flight to Philadelphia—temporary city of refuge and long thereafter a center of Spanish-American intrigue.

On this occasion the plotting seemed inspired with a double purpose. First and foremost, it was a financial scheme to meet the needs of two unscrupulous adventurers. One of them, Wilkinson, was only recently the recipient of a substantial *douceur* from the Spanish boundary commission.¹² Presumably, his need was not so urgent as Burr's, so immediate concern was centered on the latter's fortune. Burr knew from hearsay or possibly from Wilkinson's own lips that western separatism possessed powerful extractive force with Spanish officials. Of course, Wilkinson would not welcome Burr's approach to any apprehensive Spaniard, but he might encourage him to seek susceptible persons of other nationality. To Wilkinson's admonition and to Burr's need, therefore, we may attribute the separatist proposal shortly received by the British minister.

This proposal, as that diplomat briefly informs us (he, too, was in Philadelphia), was an offer from Burr

to lend his assistance to His Majesty's Government in any manner in which they may think fit to employ him, particularly in endeavoring to effect a separation of the Western Part of the United States from that which lies between the Atlantick and the Mountains, in its whole Extent.

Mr. Merry accompanied his terse but comprehensive description with the information that Burr was about to resign the vice presidency, and added the gratuitous suggestion that if his

¹² *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XIX. 800.

Majesty's ministers thought proper to listen to the offer, they should take into consideration Burr's present position in the country, where although cast off by both parties, he still maintained influential connections. Moved as Burr was by ambition and by a spirit of revenge against the administration, he would, Merry thought, serve his prospective employers with energy, ability, and fidelity.¹³

The vice president's messenger to Merry was Williamson and to that individual, who was about to depart for England, were entrusted the details of Burr's proposal. Thus we have the "conspirators" of this Spanish American plot in their several rôles. Wilkinson assumed the part of chief prompter. He was ever ready with suggestion designed to fire ambition or to excite cupidity and to twist both motives to his own financial betterment. Burr was to give the imbroglio his name and thereby assure his own reproachful fame. Possibly, by specious representation, he could secure enough money for the nonce to gratify both ambition and aesthetic taste. To Williamson was assigned the messenger's rôle but one in which he proves far more than a mere mouthpiece. He seems to have been able to quiet any misgivings that Merry may have entertained concerning Burr's usefulness—granted that that suspicious but susceptible diplomat had any—and to have commended Burr most favorably to his own superiors and family connections. Burr had helped him in his land speculations and in the "Levy"; he now undertook to repay the accumulated debt—an earnest effort that ended only with life itself.

With Williamson finally embarked for England on his double mission—to report on the "Levy" and to connect it with Burr's proposal—we may venture some surmises regarding the latter. Upon this Williamson affords us considerable light. In communications to the British cabinet, that agent dwells at length on western separatism but seldom or

¹³ Merry to Lord Harrowby, No. 11, August 6, 1804, *most secret*, Adams Transcripts, Library of Congress, Washington.

never directly connects Burr with that proposed rupture. Rather he uniformly associates the other with Mexico or with his own suggestions for the reduction of all the Spanish colonies. Williamson's animus, which is never uncertain, is wholly directed against Jefferson and the supporters of the Virginia régime, whom he holds responsible for Burr's proscription and for the anti-British bias of the American people. He represents Burr as friendly to Great Britain and believes that he is acceptable to the merchant class of the northern states—almost solidly opposed to Jefferson's anti-commercial policy and to his Gallic leanings. Williamson himself is a vigorous Francophobe and believes that Burr shares his own antipathy to Napoleon. During the later bitter discussions over Jefferson's embargo, he regards Burr as a possible leader in a northern revolt against continued Virginia domination, but he nowhere puts him forward as an exponent of western separatism. His silence on this point is not conclusive, indeed, but it is almost convincing and Burr's own movements confirm this interpretation.¹⁴

It seemed fitting that preliminary surveys should precede further planning and that Burr could combine such tasks with his temporary withdrawal from public attention. The Florida peninsula offered scouting possibilities both for Williamson's "Levy" and the Burr-Wilkinson scheme in behalf of liberty and lucre. Hence after their British associate began his belated passage to England, Burr started southward by sea, armed with a letter from the Spanish minister. St. Augustine was his immediate destination but destructive tempests kept him away from his chosen goal and its puzzled commandant.¹⁵ He doubtless saw enough of the surrounding region to determine that the way to the heart of the Spanish

¹⁴ The writer's opinion is based on a careful reading of Williamson's letters for the years 1807 and 1808. These, as noted above, are in the Newberry Library, Chicago.

¹⁵ Burr to Governor Enrique White, September 22, 1804, MSS. East Florida Papers, Library of Congress.

possessions did not lie in that direction. Hence he turned back from the St. Johns River and leisurely journeyed northward to take up for the last time his duties as vice president.

In the meanwhile, Williamson had hardly been more successful. A long and perilous voyage, he wrote in October, threatened to disappoint the expectations of many in America, among whom, we may confidently assume, he reckoned Burr and Wilkinson. Evidently, he had hoped to get some favorable word back to them before winter and the congressional session both set in. Therefore, he was scarcely well landed before he sought to lay his proposals before his chief patron, Henry Dundas, now the first Viscount Melville.¹⁶ His haste to report to that patron rather than to his immediate superiors of the war office may be attributed to the fact that Melville was now first lord of the admiralty, and because of his close friendship with Pitt was the person next to the prime minister himself best fitted to direct intervention in America. Already favorably disposed toward Miranda's enterprise, Melville was that very month granting interviews to the South American and to the latter's coadjutor, Sir Home Popham, concerning operations that should embrace northern South America and Panama, Buenos Aires, and Chile.¹⁷ Into this comprehensive scheme, the Burr-Wilkinson plan might be made to fit.

Such a connection depended largely upon Williamson. But that agent was to find his efforts hampered by Napoleon's threat to invade England and by the situation in local politics that ultimately drove Lord Melville from office.¹⁸ However, during this twelve months and more of delay, he did not lose touch with Miranda's plan nor cease to call attention to the Burr-Wilkinson project. He emphasized both as measures to keep the French from preoccupying or entering upon a close commercial connection with the Spanish colonies. It was to

¹⁶ Williamson to Melville, October 6, 1804, *Cf.* n. 2.

¹⁷ Robertson, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-286, *Cf.* n. 3.

¹⁸ Holden Furber, *Henry Dundas, First Viscount Melville, 1742-1811* (London, 1931), pp. 149-155.

the interest of the United States as well as Great Britain to prevent such a calamity. This could best be done, he points out, by supporting the proposals of Miranda, while permitting the United States to take over the Floridas. This would enable the latter power to make sure of Louisiana and in addition it should be given a free hand in Mexico—a diplomatic license that clearly includes the Burr-Wilkinson project.

Joint action on any one of the above projects would entail a reorganization of the "Levy". When enlarging upon this point, Williamson refers to "objects that he [had] represented as attainable"—objects, we infer, which might concern both Miranda and the two American associates. At any rate he urged upon the government an early decision which might bring into activity "such leading persons as may have expressed friendly disposition towards Great Britain."¹⁹

The above characterization will apply to Burr and Miranda at least and that application fits even closer when Williamson expresses a wish to keep them in their present sentiments until their exertions should be wanted. He went on to say that if general political conditions should prevent the carrying out of some specific plan in America, during the ensuing season he wished permission to return thither at once, armed with such instructions as would enable him to secure the interest of those influential men and take such steps as would further the favorite object of the British government—whatever that might be. He reiterates his request for authority to use his efforts to bring the present American government into harmony with that of Great Britain, or to take advantage of division in public sentiment to control its policy, or to keep several of the most active and enterprising characters in readiness to aid with men and supplies any expedition which it seemed advisable to undertake against South America.²⁰

¹⁹ Williamson to Nepean, February 2, 1805; also undated memoranda of the period. Cf. n. 2.

²⁰ *Ibid.*; also Williamson to Lord Melville, February 19, 1805, *ibid.*

In this third alternative we detect a definite reference to the Burr-Wilkinson project. Furthermore, their expansive confrère went on to say that if the British government was ready to accept any one of his proposals, a secret agent not himself should be selected with full power, financial and otherwise, to enter into relations with possible associates and thus relieve him of further direct responsibility for details;²¹ if, however, the government should not be prepared to embark on so extensive a scheme, he, Williamson, was to be sent back at once armed with a limited power to retain in favor of Great Britain those who could not be expected to remain inactive another year. After interviewing these men he promised to return promptly to England for further instructions.²²

More than a year was to pass before Williamson was permitted to sail for America. In the interim, Napoleon's projected invasion threatened to give him and his superiors employment on a field nearer than the West Indies or Mexico. Trafalgar, of course, indefinitely postponed such an irruption. On the other hand his patron, Melville, was subjected to investigation that later led to that minister's being impeached and driven from office.²³ To this untoward and unjust action, rather than to the death of Pitt, we may chiefly ascribe the failure of the British cabinet to support the representations both of Williamson and of Miranda. The outcome at Austerlitz had, of course, its influence not to mention the prospect of bitter controversy with the United States over impressment and the status of neutral trade. In all of these questions, we may add, Williamson displayed an intense interest with hearty expression of British proclivity. Yet on the eve of his departure for America, early in 1806, he recurred to his advice that the British government attempt to secure and maintain the

²¹ The proposal suggests that there was some dissatisfaction with Williamson's secret work of the preceding year, or that its scope was so enlarged, possibly by the Burr-Wilkinson project that an additional financial agent was necessary.

²² Cf. note 19.

²³ Earl Stanhope, *Life of the Right Honorable William Pitt*, III. 304-325.

favor of the United States by joint intervention in the West Indies and South America, and by aiding that country in an invasion of Mexico and in the annexation of the Floridas. The western people, he pointed out, were ready to join with any power that would enable them to retain the undisturbed right to navigate the Mississippi. Moreover, he reiterated, by taking this action they would prevent the French from gaining a foothold in Louisiana and the Floridas.²⁴

While Williamson was marking time and urging coöperative conquest in Hispanic America, his more conspicuous associates were far from idle. Both Burr and Wilkinson spent the winter of 1804-1805 in Washington and in an intimacy that was close rather than commendable. They gathered maps and other useful data relating to Mexico, the Caribbean area, and the southern frontier, including at least one important chart fathered by Baron von Humboldt, and conversed and corresponded with all who might give them information concerning the "unknown world" of their dreams.²⁵ Unfortunately for Burr, his inquiries extended to the discontent prevailing amongst the French population of Louisiana and his enemies later regarded such explicit curiosity as censurable and used it to bolster up their charges that he intended to disrupt the Union.²⁶ But he may have planned simply to employ the disaffection of our new French-speaking citizens as a means to put himself into the governor's chair then occupied by William C. C. Claiborne. He doubtless thought, and rightly, that he could bring to that post far more talent and prestige than was displayed by that timorous executive. The governorship, moreover, would give him a commanding position on the Gulf of Mexico between the Floridas and Texas from which he might watch closely the situation in Mexico and at the proper juncture in affairs initiate the campaign for its emancipation.

²⁴ Williamson to Lord Melville, January 6, 1806. Cf. n. 2.

²⁵ I. J. Cox, "Opening the Santa Fé Trail", in *Missouri Historical Review*, XXV. 36, 37, 46.

²⁶ McCaleb, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 21.

Other expedients, such as being returned to Congress from a western state or assisting to construct a canal around the Falls of the Ohio or land speculation, also engaged Burr's attention during the fateful winter, but his major purpose, as likewise the purpose of Wilkinson, centered in Mexico. As the latter's friend, John Adair of Kentucky wrote: "Mexico glitters in our eyes—the word is all we wait for". The Kentuckian was one of those Westerners who as he phrased it, "expected His Catholic Majesty [to] give [them] an opportunity to visit Mexico" and looked to Wilkinson to utter the word that should start them on their journey.²⁷

During that session the intriguing twain may have conceived a favorable omen in some of Jefferson's appointments. Burr's brother-in-law, Doctor Joseph Browne, was made secretary of the new territory of Louisiana, which included the upper and greater part of the purchase; his stepson, J. B. Prevost, became a judge in Orleans Territory.²⁸ With these connections in strategic frontier centers, the "conspirators" might for the moment ignore the fact that Burr himself had been overlooked. More satisfactory still was the appointment of Wilkinson as governor of Louisiana Territory with headquarters at St. Louis. Moreover, the general was permitted to retain his military command—doubly gratifying in view of his Mexican plans. To a friend who congratulated him on this new proof of executive favor he wrote that he could tell more about his new post twelve months hence. "*In the mean time*", he added, "*I can only say the country is a healthy one, and I shall be on the high road to Mexico*".

Burr it appears also proposed to tread a similar highway, for Wilkinson wrote the same correspondent that his associate was on his way westward via Philadelphia and that he expected to "find him in New Orleans in June".²⁹ Burr's evident purpose, if we may judge from his movements rather

²⁷ *Missouri Historical Review*, loc. cit., p. 37.

²⁸ Albert H. Beveridge, *Life of John Marshall*, III. 182.

²⁹ *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, loc. cit., p. 37.

than his utterances, was to survey the lusty West for himself, note its strategic possibilities, and familiarize himself with the temper and character of its people in order to determine the bearing of all on the projected Mexican campaign. Incidentally, he might discover a new political foothold that would serve to tide him over the period of waiting or develop some new field for speculation. His was a varied if unavowed purpose and if in striving to set it on foot he could impart to Western leaders his own furtive vision of wealth and glory, he might not only feel assured of their support in an actual campaign against Mexico but of their vigorous representations to the president to have him lead it. No longer, then, could Jefferson and his advisors afford to neglect him.

Burr needed financial aid no less than political prestige. He sought this help from the British government and used Williamson and the impressionable Merry as his intermediaries. Hence, both he and Merry, were greatly disturbed over the failure of Williamson to return promptly and report the decision of the British cabinet. In the latter's continued absence each read the doom of a favorite project—for Merry it meant delay in the disruption of the American Union; for Burr, the indefinite postponement of the invasion of Mexico. It was this reason doubtless that led the ex-vice president to renew his interviews with Merry in the early part of 1805 and to reiterate his emphasis upon western separatism and Creole discontent, intimating that if England did not act promptly on his representations the prospective revolutionists, both from Louisiana and from the western states, must address themselves to France. He explained that the British government, by stationing at the mouth of the Mississippi the small naval contingent he had asked for, could keep open that common channel for both contingents and by granting him an adequate subsidy, forestall the French and assure the success of the revolt. He suggested £100,000 and showed how this might be obtained without detection through payments under

a previous convention of the United States with the British government.⁸⁰

If this subsidy were once in Burr's hands it might equally well serve to further the invasion of Mexico. The probability of such use of it is strengthened by his later suggestion that the naval contingent should act under his direction. Western separatism might thus be utilized to secure British participation in his schemes and then it could be abandoned in favor of a joint attack on the Spanish colonies. Either purpose would benefit Great Britain; he and his intimate associates would profit more from the second alternative. Such, too, is the tenor of representations made by Williamson at this period.

While in Philadelphia, Burr also addressed himself to the Spanish minister, the Marqués de Casa Yrujo. From him he simply requested a passport for Mexico. This time the Spanish minister failed to honor his request. Burr's visit to Florida the preceding year had seemed inexplicable while this new and wider excursion was manifestly dangerous. Hence Casa Yrujo warned the Spanish officials to be on the lookout for such a chance visitor as Burr, whom he professed to regard as a British spy, and if occasion and pretext should offer, to arrest him.⁸¹ Somewhat later he essayed to build a backfire in Burr's wake by spreading reports that the latter planned to revive the separatist intrigues of an earlier day. Burr's own interviews with the British minister, of which the Spaniard guessed the trend, if he did not know the substance, justified his warning.⁸² All things considered, Burr should have avoided Philadelphia during the ides of March, 1805.

Burr's courtings through the west aroused puzzled surmise everywhere. He stopped with old friends and called on new ones. He missed none of the principal settlements that lined

⁸⁰ McCaleb, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁸¹ Casa Yrujo to Casa Calvo, May 23, 1805, MSS., Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 87-1-10, Archivo General de Indias, Seville.

⁸² I. J. Cox, "Western Reaction to the Burr Conspiracy", in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, pp. 73-87.

the banks of the Ohio and the Mississippi and he traversed the chief trails that connected these rivers with other important centers. Twice he held lengthy conferences with Wilkinson—at Fort Massac on the Ohio near the beginning of his journey and at St. Louis near the end. From the former he departed down the river in a barge furnished by the general and manned by a detail of soldiers and also bore with him letters to that double-dealing officer's friends, including his recent Maecenas, the Marqués de Casa Calvo.³³ But when he reached New Orleans, Burr did not avail himself of the hospitality proffered by the suborning boundary commissioner. Rather he was charged with consorting with the members of the "Mexican Association". Such preference in view of his main purpose is not surprising but it is possible to attribute too much importance to the charge. The "Association" appears to have been little more than a group of congenial and highly connected spirits who in their drinking bouts quaffed toasts to the emancipation of Mexico.³⁴ Burr undoubtedly talked with some of the "members" but his course here as elsewhere was so clouded in mystery that it is hard to fix any definite charge upon him.

We only know that he seemingly received much encouragement from his visit to the Creole City and that after his departure Daniel Clark, to whom Wilkinson gave him a letter of introduction, made two trading voyages to Vera Cruz. In view of the fact that Burr, according to Wilkinson's greeting, had many things to tell Clark that were "improper to letter", these ventures had more than commercial significance. At least, Clark was included in the circle of suspicion that now began to encompass Burr and, when shortly after the latter's departure, wild rumors of separatist projects were set afloat throughout the Mississippi Valley—rumors that specifically

³³ Wilkinson obtained the payment of \$12,000 the preceding year from Casa Calvo. *Cf.* n. 12.

³⁴ McCaleb, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-30; I. J. Cox, *West Florida Controversy* (Baltimore, 1918), p. 189.

compromised both Wilkinson and Burr—he sought to warn them of the turn events were taking.³⁵ Nor was his apprehension idle fear. Such premature reports imperiled his own safety while in Mexico and threatened, by emphasizing separatism, to defeat the real purpose of the associates.

In the meantime, by devious routes, Burr had reached St. Louis, where he found his confrère bustling over a series of enterprises that pointed toward Santa Fé. The general had already begun to sound his subordinates and prominent residents about some "grand scheme" that would make the fortune of them all. Young subalterns were being sent on exploring expeditions that had direct reference to the fur trade and Indian affairs and more remote bearing on the Mexican project.³⁶ Wilkinson may not have enlightened Burr as to the meaning of his manifold activities but he did take time to explain at length to the secretary of war how easily he might conduct a military expedition into New Mexico.³⁷ A year later, without express permission, he sent a trusty subordinate to test this route.

Perhaps Wilkinson intended to counteract at the seat of government the rumor that the earlier separatist project was being revived and also to familiarize his superiors with the Mexican plan. As usual, he had other schemes for personal gain in the background, particularly a silent partnership in the fur trade, but apparently he and Burr were still in agreement about Mexico. At least the ex-vice president left St. Louis for Vincennes with a letter heartily commending him to Governor Harrison.³⁸ The executive of Indiana Territory and Andrew Jackson of Tennessee whom Burr visited twice on this journey rank next after Clark as valuable prospective recruits for the Mexican campaign.

³⁵ McCaleb, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 33.

³⁶ *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 38-46.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 42.

³⁸ I. J. Cox, "The Burr Conspiracy in Indiana", in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXV. 266.

Late in November, 1805, Burr reached Washington from his western wanderings. Here only disappointment awaited him. Merry, with whom he promptly conferred, had no word of encouragement from the British foreign office. That minister's "most secret" despatch of the previous March, giving the details of Burr's plan, had miscarried, so he was still without instructions upon the proposals therein presented. Burr, it appears, had intended to stimulate Merry's efforts during his western journey by sending to him a confidential messenger to report progress, but was prevented by the illness of his chosen agent, ex-Senator Dayton of New Jersey, who reached Washington only two days ahead of Burr himself. Thus Merry had had no pretext for urging more speedy action on the British government. Nevertheless, Burr professed to have received communications from Williamson during the summer which led him to expect assistance from that source, although his information was not explicit enough to warrant him to send, as he had intended, another confidential agent to London. Rather, he must content himself with Merry as intermediary and with such personal interviews as he expected to have with those persons who should accompany the naval contingent that he had asked for. He gave the British minister a most flattering report of conditions as he had found them, representing the Floridas and other parts of the contiguous Spanish dominions together with the western states as so ready for change that revolution could be accomplished in them without bloodshed. The uprising would begin in the west, he explained, late in April or early in May, provided the British government furnished him with £100,000 by the beginning of March. This sum, he pointed out, could be transferred through bills of exchange or by the purchase of American stocks in London for gradual resale in the United States. He named Daniel Clark of New Orleans and John Barclay of Philadelphia as agents through whom these transactions might be carried on.

To give additional force to his request, Burr reported that

the discontented element in Louisiana, when he arrived there, was on the point of sending a representation of their grievances to Paris, although preferring independence and a connection with Great Britain. He persuaded them, however, to postpone such an appeal pending action on his own plan, but if its execution should be delayed beyond the early spring the opportunity would be presented to France to regain Louisiana and annex the Floridas.³⁰ This danger, be it noted, was likewise being urged by Williamson as a reason for prompt action. But Trafalgar and Austerlitz absorbed both British and French attention and deafened the ears of statesmen to any plea save that presented by European necessity.

Burr, therefore, must play suppliant at home and give that part a still more despicable pecuniary cast or await a possible hostile clash between the frontier forces of the United States and Spain. Of the latter contingency, as the months wore on, there seemed little prospect. The American administration was becoming more subservient to Napoleon and the British cabinet more exigent in its commercial demands. In his desperation, Burr sent Dayton to sound the Spanish minister on the subject of a half-million loan and, in presenting it, to assume the character of the "repentant thief". His emissary revealed to the Spaniard with considerable frankness details of the plan of the previous year for separating the western states, seizing the Floridas, and invading Mexico with the aid of the British cabinet. Members of the latter, and particularly Lord Melville, Dayton reported, were being led to favor the plan through Williamson's representations but had been held back from direct aid by the preliminary steps to Melville's impeachment. Now Mr. Pitt, he asserted, was showing renewed interest in the project and was to aid by an appropriation and a naval contingent; and he further stated that Miranda was

³⁰ Merry to Lord Mulgrave, No. 48, November 25, 1805, Adams Transcripts. Cf. n. 12.

being sent to this country to coöperate with Burr, who was already assured of an adequate western following.⁴⁰

Dayton's statement regarding Pitt was, as probably intended, entirely misleading. Equally unfounded was his assertion that Miranda was to associate with Burr. The two had already met in that convenient center of complots—Philadelphia—but distrust marked their foregathering. As Burr later explained:

Nothing unpleasant passed at that interview; on the contrary I was greatly pleased with his social talents and colloquial eloquence. It is true, however, that I did, from private considerations, studiously avoid anything which might afford him an occasion to disclose his views. The bare suspicion of any connection between him and me would have been injurious to my project and fatal to his; a circumstance of which he must have been ignorant. He afterward complained to his friend of my coldness and reserve; but I did not dare to explain, not having sufficient assurance of his discretion.

Thus wrote Burr years later to their common friend, Jeremy Bentham,⁴¹ at a time when they supposed Miranda safely established in power at Caracas. As would then be natural, he expressly disclaimed any sentiment of jealousy toward the Venezuelan, or any cause for political or other collision between them. It was never Burr's wont to nurture enmity against one who might be useful to him. But, in 1806, Miranda hardly came within that category. At least Casa Yrujo on Dayton's authority plainly says so.⁴² A little earlier it had seemed possible that he and Burr, through Williamson's efforts, might both be supported by the British government in their individual but related projects for the independence of the Spanish colonies. Burr told Merry that during the past summer Williamson encouraged him to think that he would

⁴⁰ Casa Yrujo to Cevallos, December 5, 1805, Legajo 5631, Estado, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid; H. Adams, *History of the United States of America*, III. 234.

⁴¹ M. L. Davis, *Private Journal of Aaron Burr* (N. Y., 1838), II. 254.

⁴² H. Adams, *op. cit.*, III. 237; Merry to Lord Mulgrave, No. 48; *cf.* n. 39.

receive support from the British government.⁴³ Perhaps from the same source he may have learned that the members of the British cabinet were becoming less inclined to help Miranda. Williamson, at least, declined to accompany that adventurer when he finally sailed for the new world⁴⁴ and Burr reëchoes Williamson's distrust when he tells the British minister (so the latter reported)

that he was sorry the King's ministers should have been deceived by such a Person whose real character he had long since known too well to place in him the smallest confidence for any purpose; that he had been notorious here and elsewhere for his indiscretions and bad faith and that he possessed no Talents that could render him useful in any respect.⁴⁵

Sensing Miranda's repudiation by the British authorities, Burr was anxious to convince Merry that his own project had no direct connection with the South American's. From the Mississippi Valley where the people were momentarily expecting war with Spain, Wilkinson also warned Burr that Miranda might "take the bread out of his mouth".⁴⁶ But Burr did not need that warning to resent the South American's presence in the United States. In England or in his native Venezuela, aided by the British admiralty, Miranda might prove of assistance to the Mexican project. But Miranda had evidently been drawn to the United States by the expectation of war between that nation and Spain and on that same contingency Burr grounded his own plan for the invasion of Mexico. Hence, Miranda could only create an unwelcome diversion in American opinion if he gained a following in the United States and in the event of failure to do so he would inevitably doom Burr's project as well as his own. It is not surprising, therefore, that the latter condemned the South American so heartily.

⁴³ *Ibid.*; also Adams, *op. cit.*, III, 229.

⁴⁴ Williamson to Lord Justice Clerk, January 3, 1806. *Cf.* n. 2.

⁴⁵ Merry to Lord Mulgrave, No. 48; *cf.* n. 39.

⁴⁶ *American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, I, 580.

But that adventurer later professed to have found Burr both "detestable" and "infamous". Miranda deeply resented Hamilton's death and his resentment was intensified during his stay in New York by bitter comments from the associates of the deceased Federalist. Moreover, he charged Burr and Dayton with betraying his plans to Casa Yrujo.⁴⁷ The charge was true. At first sight such betrayal may seem utterly gratuitous. It does, indeed, add verisimilitude to Dayton's earlier "confession" but more to the point it gained for him a moderate cash payment.⁴⁸ Small wonder, then, that Burr and Dayton came back with a still more fantastic story to the Spanish minister designed apparently to attract a still larger reward.

This story, which conforms in detail to the one later told by "General" William Eaton, was to the effect that Burr would gradually introduce his followers into Washington, seize the president and other high officials, and establish himself there as dictator. In case he could not continue in Washington, he proposed to loot banks and arsenal, seize the vessels in the navy yard, sail away to New Orleans, and then proclaim the independence of the west. This plan in all its fantastic detail was solemnly reported by Casa Yrujo to Cevallos,⁴⁹ minister of state, but without vouching for its authenticity. He professed, however, to believe that it was easy of execution and intimated that his government should support it, for Dayton assured him that Spain now had nothing to fear from the United States; that, under the new régime, boundaries would be arranged to its entire satisfaction.

The supposititious plot to dismember the Union and liberate the Spanish colonies thus takes on the aspect of plain fraud. It was at this juncture that Williamson prepared for

⁴⁷ Robertson, *op. cit.*, I. 294; J. Mills to Miranda, January 20, 1812. M. L. Davis, *Private Journal of Aaron Burr*, II. 286-289.

⁴⁸ H. Adams, *op. cit.*, III. 245.

⁴⁹ Casa Yrujo to Cevallos, January 1, 1806 (No. 605), Archivo Histórico Nacional; Adams, *op. cit.*, III. 237-239.

his long deferred voyage to the United States. Just what message he was to bring to his waiting associates does not appear, but two letters that he wrote as he was about to take ship are of more than passing interest.⁵⁰ The missives were for Lord Melville "dreadfully as He has been requited for his Services—long and faithful to his country" and were written under the firm conviction that "in the Hour of Utility and Need" that nobleman would not "withhold his Advice and Exertion where it could be of service". His Lordship, we may remark, was shortly to face impeachment in the House of Lords.

Williamson's first letter was called forth by Napoleon's recent victories in Central Europe. Something must be done to meet the threat aroused by them and nowhere else could one find an effective "counterbalance" save in the western world. Talleyrand, Williamson continued, appreciated the truth of this, for he had spent months in America as an exile, and if the French government on his advice should establish a commercial understanding with the United States, the result would prove unfortunate for Great Britain. The latter nation must seek to gain the favor of the American people even in opposition to their government. The most tempting lure and one that must appeal to every "American peasant" would be an offer to share the commerce of the West Indies and of South America after the two nations by a joint effort should open these regions to trade. Furthermore, to secure the good will of the American people, the British authorities would be justified in aiding the United States to conquer Mexico and to annex the Floridas. This joint effort, difficult though it might prove, should be undertaken within the year.

In this proposal, Williamson continued to follow the mirage then being pursued by Miranda. Yet, in his desire to circumvent the French in America, he did not lose sight of Mexico and the nearby Floridas. Within three days he re-

⁵⁰ Williamson to Lord Justice Clerk, January 3 and 6, 1806. Cf. n. 2.

ceived news that emphasized the importance of these regions and of the part his friend Burr might play in them. The "bickerings and War of Words" between the Spaniards and the Americans, he reported, promised to result in open conflict. Burr, who was "Commandant of the Forces in Louisiana",⁵¹ would not be tardy in using them. The aggressions of the Spaniards seemed so wanton that Williamson believed them definitely inspired by Talleyrand, in order to afford a pretext for introducing French forces into Mexico, Louisiana, and the Floridas. Thus would France secure the wealth of Mexico; and by controlling New Orleans hold the western people in check. Furthermore, through possession of the Floridas, that nation by planting "a Liberty tree for the Negroes on the Frontiers of Georgia [would] ruin the South Provinces of the United States". In that event, the latter nation would become utterly subservient to Bonaparte.

Under such circumstances, Williamson urged, Great Britain should act without delay. This action should take the form of general encouragement, of money to equip and move a force from Kentucky to Natchez, of military stores to New Orleans, and of a small fleet in the Gulf of Mexico. With this trifling help, at a total expense of less than £200,000, Williamson "would expect before next August to see 50,000 North Americans with Colonel Burr at their head, far on their March to the City of Mexico". He hoped he would not seem presumptuous in submitting these observations. If he should be right, his recipients would thank him; if wrong he must be pardoned for wishing to be of service. "You may consider me", he added, "one of the Western Watch Dogs of the Empire, and Watch Dogs will sometimes bark when Thieves are not at the Door". In closing he asked his correspondent to show his letter to Lord Melville who "will take, I dare say, Measures to give his Opinions to the only Man in the Nation that can, after all, act on them".

⁵¹ An obvious error, possibly unintentional on Williamson's part.

But the great Pitt thus pointed out was no more. He died before the end of the month and with his demise passed all hope for the Burr-Wilkinson project so heartily seconded by Merry and Williamson. Ignorant of this tragic event, the latter pursued his stormy voyage to America and arrived at New York in April, 1806. Straightway, he was conscious of the growing hostility to Great Britain because of recent changes in the commercial policy of that country—a hostility that was expressed in the passage of the Non-Importation Act and in executive action following the accidental murder of John Pierce.⁵² This situation caused a complete change in his program. Without wholly losing sight of the Mexican scheme, which was doubtless adversely affected by Miranda's reverses, he now became the more or less voluntary British spokesman for Jefferson's opponents. Such a rôle did not appear to lessen in any degree the friendship between Burr and himself. For the time being, however, he naturally seemed less eager in behalf of the latter's pet project.

For by Wilkinson's treachery, Burr was now becoming sole protagonist of the Mexican scheme that was enlarging in public and official apprehension. Melville's impeachment, Pitt's death, Jefferson's hostility and Casa Yrujo's well grounded distrust, plus continued political proscription in New York had done their worst; Burr now turned to real estate. He proposed to develop a colony on the Washita River in Orleans Territory. Purchasing a part interest, with the aid of friends and relatives, in the so-called Bastrop Grant, he proposed to people it with young men who might as easily become soldiers in war as settlers in peace.⁵³ This modification of his original plan, be it noted, was in keeping with a suggestion that Jefferson himself fathered,⁵⁴ but the similarity failed to make the president sponsor for the ex-vice pres-

⁵² J. B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, III. 231 *et seq.*; H. Adams, *op. cit.*, III. 91-102, 199-203.

⁵³ McCaleb, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

⁵⁴ P. L. Ford (ed.), *Writings of Jefferson*, VIII. 442.

ident's experiment. While Burr was thus striving to develop this modified plan, he did not fail to note the advance of the Spaniards across the Sabine in the late summer of 1806. Here at last was presented the chance to begin fighting. But Wilkinson, far from the threatened frontier, was busied in getting Pike started on his way to Santa Fé.⁵⁵ When he finally reached the exposed quarter all hope of hostile clash was gone. The general's only recourse was to try for some sort of bargain with the Spaniards that would personally assure him a fortune and enable him to reestablish his tarnished reputation.

To gain the former he made a specious plea for funds to the Mexican viceroy; to accomplish the latter he sought to deceive the president by conjuring up a vast conspiracy from whose consequences he alone could save the country. He represented it as embracing in its ramifications New York and the west, New Orleans and the Floridas, as well as the invasion of Mexico. Reasonably sure of the impression thus created by sheer distortion of Burr's plan, he sought to deceive the nearby Spanish authorities, to override civil government at New Orleans, and to impose upon grand and petit juries at Richmond. From this welter of arrogant duplicity, undertaken to rehabilitate himself in public opinion, he finally emerged with a reputation scarcely less besmirched than that of his treason-branded associate.⁵⁶ But he had effectually killed the Mexican project.

On this last visit, Williamson had not tarried long in the United States. Noting the growing hostility to Great Britain and believing that he could devise measures to meet it, he hastened back to London, where he arrived in August. Pitt was dead and Fox dying, but a few days before the death of Fox, Williamson was received by Grenville, titular head of the cabinet, and assigned to a special intermediary for further interviews. In December, 1806, he was again summoned for conference and thereafter considered himself at the call of

⁵⁵ *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, loc. cit., pp 47-49.

⁵⁶ McCaleb, *op. cit.*, Chaps. V, VI, VIII-XII.

government for whatever service he might render.⁵⁷ He was now occupied principally with plans to counteract Jefferson's manifest subserviency to France. In this new field of effort he still looked upon Burr as an efficient ally, but in his own representations he emphasized the possibility of western or northern separatism. There is no reason for holding Burr responsible for this tendency. Williamson had resided for ten years in New York, had traveled extensively in the eastern states, and was in close touch with commercial interests. He could form his own opinion of public temper. Nevertheless he and Burr remained on friendly terms, and the latter still linked their friendship with Mexico.

Nor did Williamson wholly lose sight of their former engrossing project. Urging British occupation of Mobile to prevent its seizure by France, he added some information about Vera Cruz and its Mexican hinterland.⁵⁸ When later he informed his patron, Melville, now restored to the privy council, concerning Burr, he reported that Wilkinson was charged with receiving large sums of money from French and Spanish sources, evidently as rewards for betraying his associate, but despite the general's defection, Williamson claimed that the American government was unable to check Burr's progress.⁵⁹ Some six weeks later, however, he informed another friend that Burr was a prisoner awaiting trial for treason, and that he had brought himself into the dilemma, largely by abandoning his original plans and acting as the tool of the French and Spanish ministers. As a loyal British subject, Williamson felt happy that Burr had failed, although as a man he was sorry for him.⁶⁰ The Briton's interest from that time on centered on proposals to check the French leanings of Jefferson and his

⁵⁷ Williamson to Lord Melville, March 28, 1807. *Cf.* n. 2.

⁵⁸ Copy of note of Charles Williamson to the Right Honorable William Windham, December 20, 1806. *Cf.* n. 2.

⁵⁹ Williamson to Lord Melville, April 26, 1807; Williamson to Lord Justice Clerk, June 5, 1807. *Cf.* n. 2.

⁶⁰ Williamson to Lord Justice Clerk, June 5, 1807. *Cf.* n. 2.

Virginia group and he still regarded Burr as an efficient weapon to effect that purpose.

With respect to both Burr and Miranda he quoted on July 12, 1807, from an American correspondent:

I hope the Buenos Ayres business has not damped the enterprize of your people—I have long thought something of consequence might be done in S. America, and if they had given Miranda Efficient help he would have succeeded. . . . If we Had let Burr alone he would have attacked Mexico I have no doubt, and the opinion is very much abroad that Wilkinson deceived him—and instead of joining him as he had reason to believe he would, from some cause or other (some think bribed by the Spaniards) took part against him, and overset the whole. Burr is bailed to stand Trial, but the Govt. will make nothing of it.⁶¹

The prophecy proved correct. After the fiasco at Richmond Burr had no intention of permitting Jefferson to prolong his farcical persecution. Undeterred by betrayal, bankruptcy, and public execration, he refused to cease speculating about Mexico or to stop searching for possible sponsors. Early in February, 1808, therefore, Williamson received word through a confidential messenger that Burr would shortly reach London and that he would place himself under the other's direction in respect to all matters that concerned the mutual interests of Great Britain and the United States. This messenger also brought the intelligence that a number of French officers had landed in the United States and had immediately proceeded to the southward. Williamson thought that their arrival betokened a French plan to invade the Floridas;⁶² now we know that they were Napoleon's agents to assist in the projected seizure of the Spanish Colonies.⁶³ Later information led Williamson to assert that Burr was coming to England as representative of a large section of the American people that wished British protection against French

⁶¹ *Id.* to *id.*, July 12, 1807.

⁶² Williamson to Lord Melville, February 9 and 12, 1808, *cf.* n. 2.

⁶³ One of these may have been the famous emissary to Mexico, General Octaviano D'Avilmar. *Cf.* Cox, *West Florida Controversy*, p. 313.

designs. In this connection Williamson again urged the British government to undertake his favorite project—a joint expedition with the United States against the Spanish colonies, leaving to the former the Floridas and Mexico. By this means, he urged, they might wean that country from French influence.⁶⁴

Burr finally left New York in May, 1808, and reached London the middle of July.⁶⁵ Great events had occurred while he was at sea. Napoleon had pushed his intervention in Spain and that country, with its royal family in captivity, was now in revolt against the usurper. This outrage brought the Spanish people into alliance with Britain and spelled another failure for Burr. Williamson, too, was not there to greet him. His government had sent him in June on a mission to the West Indies, where, on his arrival at Havana, he died of yellow fever.⁶⁶ From the coast of Spain he had dispatched a letter to Burr, expressing regret that he could not meet him, but assuring him that he had arranged to have him lay his plans before influential members of the ministry. Williamson, it appears, was still vitally interested in keeping the French out of Mexico and the Floridas and expressed the lively hope that he and Burr might speedily meet in that region of international concern.⁶⁷ This hope, as we have seen, was frustrated by the former's death.

Official indifference or open hostility proved equally fateful. Burr's Mexican project received some casual attention from the ministry but his person far too much. Though cordially received by Williamson's family circle and intimate friends and accorded a personal interview by Lord Melville, he was unable to further his own views or to foil the hostility of the Spanish ambassador.⁶⁸ Finally, expelled from England

⁶⁴ Williamson to Lord Melville, May 14, 1808. Cf. n. 2.

⁶⁵ Matthew L. Davis (ed.), *Private Journal of Aaron Burr* (New York, 1838), I. 23.

⁶⁶ *Documentary History of the State of New York*, II. 678.

⁶⁷ Davis, *op. cit.*, I. 24.

⁶⁸ M. L. Davis, *Memoirs of Aaron Burr*, II. 415, 416.

at the latter's behest, he turned to Napoleon with his usual facility in adapting himself to the inevitable. By the early part of 1810 the ruthless self-adjusting Corsican had tired of his costly Spanish intervention and now favored the independence of Spain's colonies. To Burr the moment seemed propitious for his perennial Mexican plan, but in presenting it to the emperor's counsellors he came perilously near actual treason.⁶⁹ French neglect fortunately saved him from himself, but not from a year and a half of mental and physical misery that was intensified by the inattention of imperial bureaucrats and the disdain of American diplomats. An importunate revolutionist, he found himself for more than a year a virtual prisoner of state, unable to advance the cause that brought him to Paris or get a passport to leave its fascinating but futile show.

When he was finally permitted to embark for America, the vessel on which he sailed was overhauled and brought into Yarmouth.⁷⁰ Then followed an enforced stay of several months in England. His main concern was to get away from that country but he could not wholly thrust aside the theme that had so long engrossed him. His friend Bentham tried to interest him in Miranda and Burr responded with the full and favorable statement to which we have referred.⁷¹ Despite repeated disappointment he still expressed to Bentham a wish to "mingle personally in the affairs of Spanish America" and his response led another friend of both, James Mills, to advise Miranda that he should enlist Burr's aid in their common cause.⁷² The collapse of the revolt in Venezuela, a few weeks later, rendered nugatory such advice.

⁶⁹ *Affaires Etrangères* IV. 1681 A, No. 36, 37, MSS. Archives Nationales (Paris); Anonymous letter, December 10, 1811, Madison Papers, MSS., New York Public Library.

⁷⁰ Burr to J. Reeves, October 5, 1811; Davis, *Private Journal of Aaron Burr*, II. 240.

⁷¹ *Cf.* n. 41.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 286-289.

Burr expressed himself more frankly to Charles Williamson's brother, David, in legal parlance now become Lord Balgray. He thought himself above any other man in a better position "to point out the means of conciliating [their] two countries" because he possessed "better information than any other respecting Spanish America". He was in a position, he averred, "to fulfill the views of [the British] government by rendering it [i.e. Spanish America] auxiliary to the resources of this country".⁷³ But the moment was not propitious for the hopeful protagonist. His mentor was David, and not Charles, Williamson and he must approach those in authority through the second Lord Melville. The heir, though rated as of "more solid judgment than his father", lacked the elder's "bold, intrepid, and dashing spirit". Wrote Balgray fervently, "What a loss do we feel in our departed friend".⁷⁴

But Burr could more heartily respond to this sentiment with respect to Balgray's brother. With a depth of feeling far beyond his wont he thus expressed himself:

The untimely loss of your inestimable brother occupies a portion of every day of my life. It has inflicted a wound in my peace and happiness which no time can heal or assuage. You knew something of the intimacy which subsisted between us, but its whole extent can be known only to him and me. It is such as had I with no other man living, and such as it is utterly improbable I should ever have with any one again.⁷⁵

Burr's need for friendship and favor may have dictated this unusual burst of affection. Be this as it may, the letter serves to explain why Charles Williamson for a time held the key position in the two most provocative plans for revolutionizing Spanish America and why his death so unhappily affected both. Miranda, seemingly more favored by British officials, had failed in his earlier attempts, and was doomed

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

shortly to final failure, although he had reached the projected scene of his activities. Burr, betrayed by his chief associate, denounced by his own government, and slighted and starved abroad, was no longer anxious to court further rebuff from those in authority, whether they represented his own or a foreign administration. His only thought was of escape to the United States, where his mere presence, he believed, would tend to mend his personal fortune, still the turmoil aroused at home by executive incompetence, and cure the consequences of its irresolution abroad.

He now seemed firmly rooted in the faith that America, North and South, must work out its own salvation. "It would be absurd", he pointed out, to a representative of Buenos Aires, to expect the government of Great Britain to "favor the independence of the Spanish colonies, either directly or indirectly while allied with that of Spain"; and even if that connection were dissolved Great Britain must view "your independence and your increasing greatness . . . with jealousy". This apparently was the lesson that Burr had learned in Europe. Hence, he advised the porteño, to whom this letter was addressed, to return forthwith to his native land and seek to persuade his fellow patriots to "turn their whole attention to the United States". There the people, he assured the other, despite the "feebleness and timidity of the present administration", were "warmly and almost unanimously" in favor of Spanish American independence and anxious to supply the needs of their southern neighbors. "Nothing is wanting, but money, and a better knowledge of the mode of doing things, and of the men to be addressed".⁷⁶

It is conceivable that Burr might also say this of his own situation. Nor was relief, illusory as it proved, long in forthcoming. By the end of March, thanks to loans from sympathetic friends, he was on his way to America, avowing his wish never to visit the "inhospitable isle" again, unless at the head

⁷⁶ Burr to ———, March 23, 1812, *ibid.*, p. 377.

of 50,000 men. But "malice domestic" not to mention "foreign levy" soon intervened to destroy the last vestiges of his Mexican dream. Continued proscription kept him from civic office or military command in the second war with Great Britain. Crushing bereavement in the loss of his beloved daughter and of his grandson took away all desire for the emancipator's reward. He refused invitations to assist in their struggle for independence when approached by the agents of insurgent forces in Mexico, Colombia, Buenos Aires, and Chile.⁷⁷ In his declining years he did, indeed, watch with interest the rise of the west under the leadership of his old friend Andrew Jackson, and followed attentively the early development of events in Texas. When at length the outcome at San Jacinto prefigured the ultimate annexation of the entire Southwest and recalled his own inappeasable dream, he bitterly commented, "There! you see? I was only too soon. What was treason in me thirty years ago, is patriotism now!"⁷⁸

ISAAC JOSLIN COX.

Northwestern University.

⁷⁷ Davis, *Memoirs of Aaron Burr*, II. 442-445.

⁷⁸ McCaleb, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

THE PARADOXICAL PEDRO, FIRST EMPEROR OF BRAZIL

In all Brazilian history there is, perhaps, no figure which has aroused such conflicting opinions¹ as D. Pedro I. The hero of the revolt which freed Brazil from Portugal in 1822, he was expelled from the empire nine years later as anti-Brazilian and pro-Portuguese. He called the first constituent assembly ever convened on Brazilian soil, only to dissolve it by armed force before its work was done. The constitution which served as the fundamental law of the nation until the proclamation of the republic was promulgated by D. Pedro in 1824; yet as the decade passed he became more and more frank in his absolutist tendencies. Expelled from Brazil by the liberals in 1831 as an arch-conservative, he spent the last three years of his life fighting the reactionaries of Portugal in an attempt to establish his daughter, Maria da Gloria, as constitutional queen.

To evaluate a man of such contrasts is extremely difficult. Some Brazilian historians acclaim him as the savior of his country, an iron man who shaped the destinies of half the continent of South America. Others regard him as a puppet swept along by the streams of circumstance, without the will or the ability to shape a straight course during the stormy years between 1821 and 1831.² Brazilian independence was not his work, say these; on the contrary he owes his fame and place to the destiny which made him the figurehead behind which Brazilians achieved their freedom.³ The Portuguese

¹ José de Barros Wanderley, "A Carta Constitucional de 1824", *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, tomo especial XII (*Congresso Internacional de História da América*), pt. VI, p. 104.

² J. P. Oliveira Martins, *O Brasil e as Colônias Portuguezas* (Lisbôa, 1920), p. 115.

³ Agenor de Roure, "Centenario do Pedido da Convocação de uma Assembléa Constituinte", *Rev. do Inst.*, tomo especial VIII. (*O Anno da Independência*), pp. 201-221.

of his time were violently prejudiced for or against him,⁴ while during the long reign of the second Pedro no man could retain the emperor's favor who spoke ill of the founder of the nation. The testimony of Brazilians in regard to D. Pedro I., therefore, is unreliable, with the exception of the later historians of impartial, detached judgment.⁵ The accounts of foreigners who came in contact with the young emperor, the succession of events between 1820 and 1834, and his own letters⁶ must serve as the basis for a true evaluation of the founder of Brazil.

When in 1821 the young prince, Pedro, was forced into the field of action, he was little prepared to assume the leading part thrust upon him. Born on October 12, 1798, he spent the first nine years of his life in a court which lived under the menace of Napoleon's expanding power. His mother, the notorious Da. Carlota Joaquina, sister of the future Ferdinand VII. of Spain, detested Pedro, preferring her second son, Miguel. His father, the obese, vacillating, phlegmatic D. João

⁴ Interpretations by contemporaries of the part played by Dom Pedro in the independence movement may be found in: A. M. V. de Drummond, "Anotações de A. M. V. de Drummond á sua Biographia", *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, XIII., pt. 3; Wenzel de Mareschall, "Correspondencia do Barão Wenzel de Mareschall (Agente diplomatico da Austria no Brazil, 1821-1831)", trans. by J. de A. Figueira de Mello, *Rev. do Inst.*, LXXVII. and LXXX.; José da Silva Lisboa, "Chronica authentica da Regencia do Principe D. Pedro de Alcantara. Appensa á Historia dos principaes successos politicos do Imperio do Brazil", *Rev. do Inst.*, LXVI., pt. I, pp. 185-283; E. T. Bösche, "Quadros Alternados", *Rev. do Inst.*, LXXXIII. 133-241; Mary Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, and Residence there, during part of the Years 1821-1822, 1823* (London, 1824).

⁵ Such an opinion may be found in M. de Oliveira Lima, *O Movimento da Independencia, 1821-1822* (São Paulo, 1922), pp. 177-185.

⁶ Letters to and from D. Pedro may be found in: A. A. de Aguiar, *Vida do Marquez de Barbacena* (Rio de Janeiro, 1896); Antonio Telles da Silva, *Marquez de Resende*, "Correspondencia do Marquez de Resende", *Rev. do Inst.*, LXXX. 149-505; Brazil, *Archivo da Independencia* (Rio de Janeiro, 1922); D. Pedro, *Cartas de D. Pedro a seu Pae D. João VI* (São Paulo, 1916); Père Premier, *Correspondence de Don Père Premier, avec le feu Roi de Portugal Don Jean VI, son Père*. Traduite sur les Lettres originales par Eugène de Montglave (Paris, 1827); D. Pedro, *Cartas do Imperador D. Pedro I a Domitilla de Castro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1896).

VI., fearing his own children, ignored them impartially and centered his affection on his nephew and son-in-law, the Infante D. Carlos of Spain.⁷ Neglected by both parents, Pedro was left to grow as nature and his servants decreed.

For a few months in 1807, the possibility arose that he might be thrust into state affairs despite his father's disinclination to see the prince assume any responsibility. In that year, when England and France were jockeying for control of the Portuguese empire, it was proposed that the nine-year-old heir to the throne be sent to Brazil to guarantee the continuation of the dynasty in case Napoleon should sweep Lisbon and its king into his power.⁸ The departure of the prince was delayed, however, until the entire court was forced to flee to Rio de Janeiro in order to escape capture by the French troops marching on Lisbon;⁹ thus passed the only opportunity ever offered by which Pedro could have prepared himself for his future reign.

In Brazil he grew up in the stables of the palace. Uncultured, inexperienced in the business of government, untrained in the court etiquette of Europe, and uneducated beyond the rudimentary stage, he became more of a colonial than a European. A superb horseman, impulsive, vivacious, handsome, and vigorously self-willed, his immorality was common knowledge, his *bonhommie* a tradition, and his personal bravery the subject of many ballads. He was a very democratic-mannered son of a divine-right father. His life in the stables did not teach him to listen to the advice of those with experience, nor were his tutors of a kind that would impose restraint on the

⁷ Tobias Monteiro, *Historia do Imperio, A Elaboração da Independencia* (Rio de Janeiro, 1927), pp. 131-150; Oliveira Lima, *O Movimento da Independencia*, pp. 9-10. For a detailed study of the events of the years 1821-1822, see Oliveira Lima's book.

⁸ Great Britain, Public Record Office, F. O. 63/55, Strangford to Canning, Nos. 55, 70, 71, 75; 63/56, Strangford to Canning, No. 80.

⁹ J. F. Pereira da Silva, *Historia da Fundação do Imperio* (Rio de Janeiro, 1864), I. 104-124; Great Britain, Public Record Office, F. O. 63/56, Strangford to Canning, Nos. 96, 99, 103.

son of Da. Carlota; on the contrary, he wished to act as well as think for himself. An untrained mind in a vigorous body, a lover of life and sensual pleasures, generous and cruel, accessible to the humblest friend, yet haughty and revengeful to his enemies, young and thirsting for power—this was D. Pedro when he was thrust into the field of action by the revolutions of 1820 and 1821 in Portugal and Brazil.¹⁰

In August, 1820, a revolution in Portugal, inspired by the Spanish uprising, demanded the return of D. João to Lisbon. Afraid of losing his Portuguese kingdom if he did not obey and yet divining that his eldest son would be difficult to check if he were left alone in Brazil as regent, the king vacillated until an uprising in Rio forced him to embark for Europe (April 24, 1821),¹¹ leaving D. Pedro as regent of Brazil. For two months previous, the prince had sided with the Brazilian party in the attempt to force the departure of his father; he was the dashing hero on February 26 when the people obliged the king to swear to accept the constitution which was yet to be promulgated by the *côrtes*;¹² at the urgent request of the Brazilian party in Rio, he persuaded his father to modify the original decision which required the entire royal family to return to Lisbon, thus obtaining permission to remain as governor; and he was seriously implicated in the tragic night

¹⁰ Oliveira Martins, *O Brasil e as Colônias Portuguezas*, pp. 108-109; Oliveira Lima, *O Reconhecimento do Imperio* (Rio de Janeiro and Paris, 1902), pp. 65-67; John Armitage, *The History of Brazil* (London, 1836), I. 37-38. An excellent character sketch of Dom Pedro appeared in a study by Alberto Pimentel, entitled *A Côrte de D. Pedro IV no Brasil, nos Açores, no Porto, e Lisboa*, published in *O Jornal do Commercio*, January-March, 1896. The sketch is given in part by Max Fleiuss in his chapter of the *Contribuições para a Biographia de D. Pedro II*, I. 13n. (The three volume *Contribuições* comprise special volume IX. of the *Rev. do Inst.*) Max Fleiuss adds his own interpretation and that of others. The prince is pictured as the Washington of Brazil.

¹¹ For a detailed account of the revolution in Brazil which forced the return of D. João to Lisbon, see Oliveira Lima, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-67; and Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira, "Memórias e Cartas Biographicas", *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional*, II. 247-314, III. 182-210.

¹² A. J. de Mello Moraes, *Historia do Brasil-Reino e Brasil-Imperio* (Rio de Janeiro, 1871), pp. 53-58.

of April 21 when the *senado da camara* of Rio forced the king to accept the Spanish constitution voted at Cádiz.¹³ By the powers conferred on him when his father left, Pedro lacked little more than the right of foreign diplomatic representation to make him a sovereign ruler.

Yet almost coincident with the departure of D. João from Rio de Janeiro, the *côrtes* began to limit the powers of the prince and to restrict the liberties of the co-kingdom. In consequence of an order issued in April, which detached all provincial governments from Rio and made them subject directly to Portugal, petty provincial and municipal *juntas* sprang up throughout the colony, each refusing to pay revenue to Rio. Thus though nominally regent of all Brazil, Pedro really became merely governor of Rio and the southern provinces. The bank, looted by the king, failed in July, and the treasury of the prince was empty.¹⁴ In September the dissolution of the co-kingdom was completed when the *côrtes* by decree (September 29, 1821) abolished the chancery court, the treasury, the *junta* of commerce, and the various tribunals and establishments set up during the residence of D. João in Rio; at the same time D. Pedro was peremptorily ordered home. Two days later another decree appointed governors-at-arms for each of the provinces of the colony. It was clear that the *côrtes* intended to reëstablish the colonial status of Brazil.¹⁵

As soon as the purpose of the *côrtes* became evident, a group of Brazilians conspired to keep Pedro in America. The prince, torn between the impulse to free Brazil from the despotism of the Lisbon assembly and the insatiable desire to

¹³ Probably the best account of the situation which led to the return of the king to Portugal is that of Oliveira Lima, *Don João VI no Brasil, 1808-1821* (Rio de Janeiro, 1908), II. 1059-1115. The author presents the local situations as they existed in Rio and Lisbon against the background of international affairs. The Spanish constitution of 1812 is given in Mello Moraes, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-40.

¹⁴ Armitage, *History of Brazil*, I. 41-49; Pereira da Silva, *História do Império*, V. 142-177; *Cartas de D. Pedro a seu Pai, 1821-1822*, letter of September 21, 1821.

¹⁵ Armitage, *History of Brazil*, I. 50-54; Pereira da Silva, *História do Império*,

retain his rights of succession to the Portuguese throne, consented to defy the will of the *côrtes* if the conspirators would secure the backing of the people and troops of Rio, São Paulo, and Minas Geraes. Consequently, the group¹⁶ in the colonial capital sent representatives to the latter provinces to beseech their coöperation.¹⁷ José Bonifacio's state replied with the famous letter to the prince, attacking in vehement language the action of the *côrtes* and demanding that Pedro remain in Brazil. The prince utilized the letter shrewdly by stage-managing its publication on January 8, 1822, in such a manner as to arouse public opinion in support of the position so fearlessly assumed by São Paulo.¹⁸ An envoy from the latter province aided in persuading Minas Geraes to join in support of the conspiracy to force Pedro to remain in defiance of the order from Lisbon. Backed thus by Rio, São Paulo, and Minas Geraes, the conspirators, working through the *senado da camara* of the capital, prepared a manifesto embodying

¹⁶ There existed in Rio a club formed to promote resistance to the efforts of Portugal to re-colonize Brazil. Known at first as the *Club de Resistencia*, it later became the *Club da Independência*. Leading members were: José Mariano de Azeredo Coutinho, José Joaquim da Rocha, Menendez de Drummond and his brother Luiz, Luiz Pereira da Nobrega, Francisco da França Miranda—all figures of importance in the movement for independence. It was this group which proposed to Dom Pedro that he remain in Brazil if the support of the three provinces could be secured, and conspired to win the *Fico* (Mello Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 87). Later it coöperated with José Bonifacio and Dom Pedro in securing the support of the northern provinces; Menendez de Drummond was selected for the dangerous task of going to Pernambuco and Bahia during the critical months of 1822, before the Portuguese forces were expelled, to report on conditions and win the support of the Brazilians to Pedro's cause. His "Anotações" (notes added to the biographical sketch, included in a French universal biographical collection, at the request of Mello Moraes (furnish some of the most fascinating reading of the independence literature.

¹⁷ Paulo Barbosa da Silva, later minister to various courts in Europe, and Pedro Dias Paes Leme, later Marquez de Quixeramobim, were sent to Minas Geraes and São Paulo respectively, on December 20 and 22. Paes Leme secured the famous reply from the São Paulo *junta* written by José Bonifacio (Oliveira Lima, *O Movimento da Independência, 1821-1822*, pp. 152-153).

¹⁸ Mello Moraes, *História do Brasil-Reino e Brasil-Imperio*, p. 93.

their views, secured an astonishing number of signatures,¹⁹ and on January 9, the day after the publication of the São Paulo letter, delivered the document to D. Pedro with a fiery speech of presentation by José Clemente Pereira. At the public ceremony, the representatives from Rio Grande do Sul signified the adherence of the southern province to the movement.

Pedro, held in check by his desire to retain the throne of Portugal, hesitated despite the agreement with the conspirators and merely promised to delay his return to Lisbon until he could communicate with his father and the *côrtes*.²⁰ Then sensing the profound disappointment of the Brazilian party, the prince crossed his Rubicon; he summoned José Clemente and ordered him to substitute for the first answer the famous sentence: "Since it is for the good of all and for the general happiness of the nation, I am ready; tell the people that I shall remain."²¹

The historic *Fico* (I shall remain), although it was the work of the Brazilian party, was not a conscious move toward independence, for even José Clemente Pereira desired at that time, not complete separation, but equality with Portugal and the Algarves as a coördinate member of the Portuguese empire. But after January 9, events moved rapidly toward the final declaration of independence. One week after the *Fico*, the pro-Portuguese cabinet which disapproved of Pedro's dis-

¹⁹ There were more than eight thousand signatures (Oliveira Lima, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-154). The document is given in Mello Moraes, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97.

²⁰ This reply is given in the act of the session of the *senado da camara* and the first proclamation of the *senado* of the ninth. To the act is added a postscript stating that since these words were not the exact terms used by the prince, there should be substituted the true phraseology, which follows. The act with the postscript is given in Mello Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 99. A. Olympio Viveiros de Castro, in "Centenario do Fico", *Rev. do Inst.*, tomo especial VIII. 40-41, interprets the act and proclamation as proof that Pedro made two replies, modifying the first when he sensed the disappointment of the Brazilians.

²¹ "Como é para bem de todos e felicidade geral da nação, estou prompto; diga ao povo que fico".

obedience resigned, and José Bonifacio de Andrada e Silva²² became the favored adviser of the prince when he entered the new ministry as its only Brazilian-born member. When, in March, the Portuguese division quartered in Rio rebelled in an effort to force Pedro's obedience to the decrees of the *côrtes*, the prince by relying on Brazilian volunteers forcibly expelled the division from Rio. In March and April at the suggestion of Bonifacio, Pedro made an extraordinarily rapid and daring trip through the province of Minas Geraes with the double purpose of quieting disorder and winning the support of Brazilians to his side.²³ For the first time, perhaps, the prince, separated from the Portuguese atmosphere of Rio, sensed the power that was stirring in the Brazilian aristocracy of the land when *camara* after *camara* acclaimed him as the savior of their country.

On May 13, after his return, Pedro accepted the title of "Perpetual Defender of Brazil", offered by the municipality of Rio, but refused ten days later to call a constituent assembly. Early in June, he advanced another step by yielding to the demand for a Brazilian *côrtes*, and Bonifacio signed the decree convoking the first constituent assembly ever to convene on Brazilian soil.²⁴ On the first day of August there was issued Pedro's proclamation to the people of Brazil declaring war on any Portuguese force which refused to return immediately to Europe; and soon after all friendly nations were advised that Brazil considered itself as free and independent as Portugal itself under the Bragança dynasty.

²² Francisco A. Varnhagem in his *História da Independência do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1917) presents the work of the Andradas in an unfavorable light. For a point of view more in sympathy with their activity, see Oliveira Lima, *O Movimento da Independência, 1821-1822*.

²³ A collection of official documents containing letters from the *camaras* and other bodies of the province and the decrees issued by the prince during the trip to Minas Geraes is given in *Rev. do Inst.*, LXVI., pt. I, pp. 7-82.

²⁴ A. Olympio Viveiros de Castro, "Manifestação de Sentimento Constitucional no Brasil-Reino", *Rev. do Inst.*, tomo especial VI. (1º Congresso de História Nacional), pt. III, pp. 5-62.

The march toward independence, thus, was well advanced when Pedro visited São Paulo in August and September with the same purpose in mind as that which impelled the earlier trip to Minas Geraes.²⁵ Here in the regions of the old *bandeirantes*, the traditional center of resistance in the colony to the authority of the king, the prince sensed more strongly than in Minas the power of the Brazilian aristocracy and its hatred of the colonial régime. The wave of approval which greeted him throughout the province won the impressionable young prince so firmly to the side of the Brazilian party that when he received despatches from Rio informing him of the decrees passed by the Lisbon *côrtes* in the effort to reduce the refractory co-kingdom to obedience,²⁶ he was ready to take the final step.

It was the seventh of September, late in the afternoon, as the prince was returning from the coast town of Santos, that the messenger, hot from Rio,²⁷ delivered the despatches to D. Pedro.²⁸ Among them was a letter from José Bonifácio

²⁵ A collection of official documents dealing with the São Paulo trip may be found in *Rev. do Inst.*, LXVI., pt. I, pp. 83-178.

²⁶ On July 23, 1822, the *côrtes* issued three decrees to reduce Brazil to obedience: those who had signed the famous letter sent by São Paulo to the prince, published January 8 on the eve of the *Fico*, were to be brought to trial; the calling of the council of *procuradores* (the first step toward the convocation of the Brazilian assembly) was annulled and the ministers (José Bonifácio and his colleagues) responsible for the step were to be called to trial; and the prince, who was to remain in Brazil until the final draft of the Portuguese constitution should be issued, was to obey Dom João and the *côrtes* and to submit to the supervision of secretaries of state appointed by Dom João (M. E. Gomes de Carvalho, *Os Deputados brasileiros nos Cortes Geraes de 1821* [Porto, 1912], pp. 299-339; José da Silva Lisboa, "Chronica Authentica da Regencia do Principe D. Pedro de Alcantara", documents, pp. 237-239).

²⁷ The messenger, Paulo Bregaro, was waiting, booted and spurred, just outside the council room to carry the despatches to Dom Pedro. Bonifácio in giving him the packet warned him that unless he foundered (*arrebentar*) a dozen horses on the trip he would never serve as royal messenger again (Drummond, "Anotações", p. 40).

²⁸ In addition to the official decrees from Portugal, dated July 23, there were included in the packet a discouraging letter from Antonio Carlos de Andrada, one of the Brazilian representatives in the *côrtes*, a letter from Bonifácio to Dom

containing news and advice and one from his wife, Da. Leopoldina, in which was the sentence, "The apple is ripe; harvest it now, or it will rot".²⁹ The prince read the despatches through, and paused for a few moments in reflection while the small cavalcade waited expectantly on the banks of the little stream called Ypiranga; then suddenly unsheathing his sword, he shouted, "The time has arrived, Independence or Death! We are separated from Portugal!" Tearing the Portuguese band from his hat, he hurled it from him, and united the whole cavalcade in an oath to fight for the independence of Brazil.³⁰

Leaving Ypiranga, the prince hurried to the nearby town of São Paulo, and thence back to Rio, covering in a bit over five days a distance of more than one hundred leagues along the difficult crest of the mountains and down the steep slopes to the coast. There he found that late in August the cry of independence had been raised in the Masonic Grand Lodge by Joaquim Gonçalves Ledo who had insisted on an independent constitutional Brazil under Pedro.³¹ In October, the prince was proclaimed constitutional emperor and on the first day of December the coronation took place. By the end of the following year, the authority of the emperor was recognized throughout Brazil.

Thus it was step by step that the young prince shifted from

Pedro advising a definite break with Portugal, and a letter from Donna Leopoldina, urging Pedro to take the final step (Oliveira Lima, *O Movimento da Independência, 1821-1822*, p. 321).

²⁹ Donna Leopoldina aided materially in influencing Dom Pedro to favor independence. She presided at the council meeting in Rio which voted to declare Brazil independent and sent the despatches to Dom Pedro in São Paulo (Drummond, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-42).

³⁰ The *Grito da Ypiranga* (cry of Ypiranga) serves as the official act which marked the final separation from Portugal. The Brazilians celebrate September 7 as independence day.

³¹ For a certified statement taken from the original minutes of the Masonic Lodge, *Grande Oriente do Brasil*, containing the report of the meeting presided over by Gonçalves Ledo, see *Bibliotheca Nacional, Documentos para a História da Independência* (Rio de Janeiro, 1923), I. 395-396.

his loyalty to the mother country to a declaration of independence. The transition is best seen in the letters³² written to his father between June 8, 1821, and September 22, 1822. In despair over the situation in Brazil, he first asked permission to resign as regent, then requested money and soldiers to enable him to maintain his position against the rising tide of the Brazilian party. When the order came for him to return to Lisbon, he promised to obey at once; yet he warned that his leaving would result in the complete separation of Brazil from Portugal. Fears that he would be unable to obey the orders of the *côrtés* were followed by a notice that he intended to remain despite instructions to the contrary. A deep bitterness crept into his correspondence after the conflict with the Portuguese division in March; for following the uprising of the troops, his eldest son died from the exposure suffered during the sudden flight to safety beyond Rio.³³ Slowly hints of independence appeared as his hatred of the *côrtés* deepened. Threats succeeded hints; he notified his father of his intention to call a Brazilian assembly, and recalled D. João's parting words. "Pedro, if Brazil should ever separate from Portugal, seize the crown for yourself rather than let it fall into the hands of an adventurer." Finally in the last letter written to his father, September 22, 1822, the impetuous nature of the prince, hitherto held in restraint by the ministerial revision of his letters, broke through as he denounced the *côrtés* in rudest terms and vaunted his own ability in wounded vanity over the insulting attitude adopted toward him by the Lisbon assembly. The aggression of the *côrtés* and the shrewd action of the leaders of the Brazilian party combined to wean D. Pedro from his loyalty to Portugal.

Scarcely had independence been achieved, however, when a cleavage appeared among the Brazilians who supported D.

³² D. Pedro, *Cartas de D. Pedro a seu Pae D. João VI.*

³³ Oliveira Lima, *O Movimento da Independência, 1821-1822*, p. 166 and n. 2.

Pedro.³⁴ The Brazilian party, composed of the landed aristocracy, favored a constitutional monarchy under D. Pedro with the two branches of the house of Bragança completely separated. The Portuguese party, consisting of the office-holders, the commercial class, and certain wealthy families of Portuguese origin or tradition, favored an absolutist monarchy with Pedro retaining all his rights of succession to the throne in Lisbon.³⁵ The issue was clearly drawn: the young emperor was forced to choose between the constitutionalists and the absolutists.³⁶ His own arbitrary nature and the anarchy which the disintegrating factors of republicanism had sown in Spanish America and which constantly threatened to disrupt the new empire, inclined D. Pedro toward absolutism.³⁷ On the other hand, he was a liberal at heart³⁸ and his regard for the colonials was sincere.³⁹ Between 1821 and 1823, by relying on the Brazilians for support, he was successful in his resistance to the aggression of the *côrtes* and in his attempt to establish his authority throughout the empire. Separatist movements were suppressed, loyalists silenced, and soldiers

³⁴ The cleavage between the Portuguese element and the Brazilians was visible immediately after the departure of D. João VI. in April, 1821. Drummond describes the excesses of the Portuguese-born army officers and the mercantile class (largely Portuguese). Brazilian families refrained from attending the theater and Rio resembled a "conquered city" (Drummond, "Anotações", pp. 14-15). Both the Portuguese and Brazilian factions in the independence party had definite reasons for supporting D. Pedro. See Oliveira Lima, *op. cit.*, pp. 149, 180-183.

³⁵ Pereira da Silva, *História do Império*, I. 209-211, VI. 126-149, VII. 107-191; Armitage, *History of Brazil*, I. 41-42, 198-200. For a discussion of the origins of the cleavage among the Brazilians, see Alan K. Manchester, "The Rise of the Brazilian Aristocracy", *HISPANIC AMERICAN REVIEW*, XI, No. 2 (May, 1931), pp. 145-168.

³⁶ As Drummond points out ("Anotações", p. 32), the Brazilian party was weakened by the split between the faction desiring a constitutional monarchy and the faction favoring a republic.

³⁷ Pereira da Silva, *op. cit.*, VII. 191-307.

³⁸ Oliveira Martins, *O Brasil e as Colônias Portuguezas*, pp. 108-109; Oliveira Lima, *O Movimento da Independência, 1821-1822*, p. 165.

³⁹ Armitage, *op. cit.*, I. 39-40.

of Portugal expelled from Brazilian soil.⁴⁰ Thus, by the aid of the constitutionalists, the prince made himself supreme. Was he to desert the Brazilian party at the moment of success?

It is this situation which explains the paradoxical character of Pedro's actions between 1821 and 1831. In 1822, he was frankly Brazilian in his attitude and actions, but as the decade advanced he inclined toward the absolutist camp. The reasons for his change of parties are found in his own nature and in the course of events following 1823.

The issue between Portuguese and Brazilian was brought to its first crisis by the constitutional assembly which began its preparatory sessions April 17, 1823. Early in May, the rift between the two parties appeared when Muniz Tavares proposed that the emperor be required to expel from Brazil all Portuguese-born suspected of hostility to independence. The motion was defeated, but the alignment of Portuguese against Brazilians grew more pronounced as the weeks passed. Two constitutionalist papers, the *Sentinella* and the *Tamoyo*⁴¹ attacked all Portuguese-born who were in the service of Brazil; two Portuguese officers in Pedro's army chastised the supposed author of an obnoxious article; and the troops, largely Portuguese, demanded the punishment of the Brazilian deputies in the assembly who were responsible for the two papers. That body took up the matter; Pedro moved the troops to a site near the palace and ordered the assembly to dissolve.⁴²

⁴⁰ Pereira da Silva, *op. cit.*, VII. 305-306; Great Britain, Public Record Office, F. O. 63/246, 258-261, 276-279, letters of Consul Chamberlain at Rio de Janeiro to the Foreign Office.

⁴¹ França Miranda, formerly editor of *O Despertador Brasileiro*, and Drummond were the editors of the *Tamoyo*; the Andrada brothers were responsible for the *Sentinella*. Fearing the union of Portugal and Brazil under Dom Pedro, Drummond fought to make Brazil completely independent not only of the *côrtes* of Portugal, but of the Portuguese party in Brazil (Drummond, "Anotações", pp. 63-72).

⁴² R. O. de Langgaard Menezes, "A Constituinte de 1823", *Rev. do Inst.*, tomo especial VI., pt. III, pp. 63-84; Brazil, *Annaes do Parlamento Brasileiro, Assemblêa Constituinte, 1823* (Rio de Janeiro, 1874), VI. 229-247; Oliveira Lima, *O*

Portuguese-born, with a tradition of generations of Portuguese absolutists behind him, annoyed when the assembly actually attempted to impose its will upon him, and forgetful of the stirring power of the Brazilian aristocracy manifested the year before, Pedro chose the side of the Portuguese absolutists.

The assembly was dissolved November 12 without finishing the constitution. A month later, a committee of ten men, nominated by the emperor, five of whom had been members of the assembly, presented a project based on the original work of that body. Several town councils gave their formal assent; but without submitting the final draft to a representative body, Pedro proclaimed the new constitution in force, March 25, 1824. This document, which differed little from the original unfinished project of the assembly, served as the fundamental law of the nation until the republic was proclaimed.⁴³ Liberal in its terms in spite of the great power granted to the emperor, it demonstrated Pedro's inclination toward constitutionalism. His liberalism was not mere oratory, although the forcible dissolution of the assembly demonstrated his antipathy to any outside check on his own power.

The constitution was declared in force, but Pedro postponed putting it into execution. This delay in calling the legislative assembly stipulated in the charter led the Brazilians to believe that Pedro did not favor a constitutional form of government despite the repeated assertions made in 1822 and the constitution promulgated by him as a gift to the nation. During 1824 and 1825, presidents of provinces ruled as despotically as the old colonial governors and captains gen-

Imperio Brasileiro, 1822-1889 (São Paulo, 1927), pp. 13-15; Drummond, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-89.

⁴³ Pereira da Silva, *Historia do Imperio*, VII. 245-246. For a detailed comparison of the two constitutions, see Oliveira Lima, *O Imperio Brasileiro*, pp. 68-78. The constitution was amended by the additional act of 1834. The project presented by the assembly is given in Pereira da Silva, *op. cit.*, VII. appendix, pp. 372-412. The constitution granted by Dom Pedro is given by H. G. James, *The Constitutional System of Brazil* (Washington, 1923), pp. 237-252.

eral. A public functionary or an official of the army, navy, or police, became a superior person who enjoyed the right to maltreat any citizen. Redress in the courts which were responsible solely to D. Pedro was impossible; and the liberty of the press was extinguished. A group of sycophantic courtiers surrounded the young emperor, blanketing him with the suffocating absolutism of the Portuguese party.⁴⁴ Opposition gazettes and pamphlets were posted on walls at midnight to be read by citizens in the early morning before soldiers tore them down. Pedro and his ministers, his favorites, his house servants, his love intrigues, his mistresses, were the objects of attacks by these opposition papers. Little by little, the emperor was losing the tremendous popularity won in 1821 and 1822.⁴⁵ Dissatisfaction reached such a pitch in the north that the four provinces under the leadership of Pernambuco attempted by seceding from the empire to establish a republic modeled on a constitution drawn up by Bolívar.⁴⁶

Two factors induced Pedro to turn absolutist. One was his own autocratic will and the fear that only an absolute, centralized authority could preserve a united empire from the anarchy which swept the rest of South America. The other hinged on the foreign relations of the newly created empire. The immediate recognition of the new state by England was a vital necessity, for Brazil's destiny was bound up with those of Portugal and England.⁴⁷ The special relations which had existed for centuries between Great Britain and Portugal enabled the latter to refuse to recognize the revolting colony

⁴⁴ Armitage, *History of Brasil*, I. 200-204; Oliveira Lima, *O Reconhecimento do Imperio*, pp. 255-256; Drummond, "Anotações", pp. 59-60.

⁴⁵ *Contribuições para a Biographia de D. Pedro II*, I, chap. I (by Max Fleiuss), pp. 6-8.

⁴⁶ Antonio Pereira Pinto, "A Confederação do Equador", *Rev. do Inst.*, XXIX., pt. II. José F. da Rocha Pombo (*Historia do Brazil* [Rio de Janeiro, n. d.], VIII. 24 n. 1) mentions Pereira Pinto's study as the most complete and valuable of the material dealing with the revolution of 1824. Rocha Pombo bases his account (*op. cit.*, VIII., 23-52) on this study.

⁴⁷ H. Temperley, *Foreign Policy of Canning, 1822-1827* (London, 1925), p. 212.

as long as England held off;⁴⁸ nor would any European power extend recognition until the Lisbon court admitted that independence had been achieved.⁴⁹ Unless Great Britain could be induced to recognize the new state, therefore, complete independence would be delayed indefinitely with imminent danger to the continued existence of the empire.

The price for recognition exacted by England, however, could be paid only if Pedro was unhampered by constitutional restraint. The treaty with Portugal acknowledging independence, negotiated under pressure from London, could not have been signed if the Brazilians had been granted a voice in the matter, for it imposed on Brazil the obligation of paying to the London bankers the loan raised by Portugal to fight the rebellious colony and it implied that Pedro was to inherit the throne at the death of D. João.⁵⁰ The commercial treaty demanded by England fastened the traditional British economic preëminence in Portuguese dominions on the new empire by terms to which an assembly would have agreed only after a severe struggle.⁵¹ It was the slave trade treaty, however, which completely alienated the land aristocracy, the backbone of the Brazilian party. These plantation owners, steadfast believers in slavery as the only available agricultural labor supply, refused to consider a cessation of the slave trade; yet

⁴⁸ The Portuguese court cited the treaties of 1642, 1654 (Articles I and XVI), and 1661 (Secret Article) as the basis of its demand to protection by England against Brazil (Oliveira Lima, *O Reconhecimento do Imperio*, p. 57).

⁴⁹ A. A. de Aguiar, *Vida do Marquez de Barbacena*, p. 98; Great Britain, Public Record Office, F. O. 13/7, Canning to Chamberlain, No. 1.

⁵⁰ The treaty is given in Oliveira Lima, *op. cit.*, appendix, pp. 353-360. The original loan of £1,500,000 had been reduced by £100,000 only. The story of the negotiations carried on by Sir Charles Stuart (Canning's agent) for Portugal and the three Brazilians is given in *Arquivo Diplomático da Independência*, VI. (Portugal), pp. 63-142. The effect of the treaty on the Brazilians is described in Oliveira Lima, *op. cit.*, p. 255 and Pereira da Silva, *História do Imperio*, VII. 332-333.

⁵¹ The commercial treaty negotiated by Lord Gordon at Rio and ratified November 10, 1827, is given in F. Martens, *Recueil des Traité des Puissances e États de l'Europe depuis 1761* (Gottengue, n. d.), Supplément, XI, Seconde Partie, pp. 479-491.

the suppression of the traffic was an item in the bill for recognition which England refused to modify. Consequently, D. Pedro was forced to ignore the will of the Brazilian constitutionalists, and by relying on the Portuguese absolutists, to purchase recognition by the use of autocratic power.⁵² Portugal recognized the independence of Brazil, August 26, 1825, while Austria, France, the Vatican, Sweden, Holland, and Prussia followed England's lead.⁵³ By relying on the Brazilian constitutionalists, Pedro had established an independent empire; now by reverting to absolutism and the Portuguese party, he obtained entrance for the empire into the family of European nations.

The distrust which the Brazilians felt for D. Pedro after 1824 was heightened by the action of the prince after the death of his father, D. João VI. On April 24, 1826, when the news of the king's death reached Rio, Pedro assumed the title of king of Portugal, despite the express prohibition in the Brazilian constitution against such an alliance dangerous to the independence of the empire. After issuing decrees to be executed in Lisbon and after promulgating a constitution for Portugal, he finally abdicated in favor of his eight-year-old daughter, Maria da Gloria. The whole transaction convinced the Brazilians that it was the intention of D. Pedro and the Portuguese party again to unite the two branches of the house of Bragança under one head and to recolonize Brazil.⁵⁴ Thereafter, the conviction grew that the safety of the empire de-

⁵² Brazil, *Arquivo Diplomático da Independência*, I., Brant to Bonifácio, June 29 and May 10, 1823 and Carvalho e Mello to Brant and Gameiro, January 3, 1824; Rocha Pombo, *História do Brasil*, VII. 899; Great Britain, Public Record Office, F. O. 63/259, Chamberlain to Canning, April 2, Secret and No. 55, Secret; F. O. 84/56, Gordon to Canning, No. 1; F. O. 13/38, Gordon to Dudley, No. 3 (July 14, 1827) and enclosures, No. 10.

⁵³ Oliveira Lima, *O Reconhecimento do Império*, pp. 287-305; *Arquivo Diplomático da Independência*, II., Itabayana to Resende, January 31, 1826. Russia recognized the empire in 1827 and Spain in 1834 (Rocha Pombo, *op. cit.*, VII. 916, n. 1).

⁵⁴ Rocha Pombo, *História do Brasil*, VIII. 75-76.

manded that the power of D. Pedro be curbed by forcing him to heed the will of the Brazilian constitutionalists.

The fiasco of the emperor's policy in the war with Buenos Aires over the Banda Oriental increased the irritation of the Brazilian party. Over the protests of the opposition, he entered the war and insisted on its continuance, determined not to yield the Cisplatine province which had been annexed during the reign of his father.⁵⁵ So resolute was he in his opinion that late in November, 1826, he took the field himself in an effort to encourage enlistment and to restore the morale of the troops fighting in the south. During his absence, the empress, Da. Leopoldina, beloved of the Brazilians, died, as rumor had it, from injuries received by the maltreatment of D. Pedro before he left for the front. Her death hastened the return upon which the emperor had already determined.⁵⁶

The assertion has been made frequently that his sudden abandonment of the south was due to the entreaties of his mistress, Da. Domitilla, Marqueza de Santos;⁵⁷ but the real cause of his return was more fundamental. The hatred and anarchy of 1823, restrained by his presence, broke out afresh as soon as he left Rio. Pamphlets were scattered abroad calling him a perjured lackey of the stables, a mannerless, unprincipled, faithless, shameless dolt, a bad son, worse father, detestable husband, and an iniquitous monarch. The rumor that the death of the popular empress was due to complications which resulted from physical violence done her during pregnancy spread rapidly through the capital, arousing the Brazilians to positive hatred of D. Pedro. His continued absence presented an opportunity by which this element could threaten the very

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 76-164.

⁵⁶ Alberto Rangel, "Pedro I e a Marqueza de Santos", *Rev. do Inst.*, LXXVI, pt. I, p. 12.

⁵⁷ The letters of Dom Pedro to his mistress reveal the relations which existed between the emperor and Domitilla de Castro. An authenticated copy of the letters belonging to Julio Ribeiro passed into the archives of the National Library at his death. They have been printed as *Cartas do Imperador D. Pedro I a Domitilla de Castro, Marqueza de Santos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1896).

existence of the throne. The hurried return, therefore, was an act of self-defense, which, while it lost the Banda Oriental, preserved his position as emperor of Brazil.⁵⁸

For the time he was safe, but the rising tide of opposition was swelling to the flood as the division between Portuguese and Brazilian grew more embittered. Anarchy and the usurpation of the throne of Portugal by his absolutist brother, D. Miguel, forced the emigration of liberal Portuguese to Brazil, where, by joining the Portuguese party on which D. Pedro depended for support, they turned absolutist and elbowed their way into the favor of the emperor. There was no place in the government for the constitutionalist, with the result that the Brazilians, who had dreamed of independence in 1822, were still as completely under Portuguese dominance as they had been during the old colonial régime.⁵⁹ By 1830, the situation became intolerable.

In the province of Minas Geraes discontent over the exclusion of the Brazilians from governmental positions and the pro-Portuguese policy of the emperor had become so serious that he determined to repeat the visit of 1822 in an effort to crush opposition and regain his former popularity. With his second empress, Da. Amelia de Leuchtenberg, whom he had married the year before, he left Rio,⁶⁰ December 30, 1830, but his presence failed to inspire the loyalty that he had expected.⁶¹ On the contrary, his farewell proclamation served to aggravate the ill-will already existing, not only in Minas but in

⁵⁸ Alberto Rangel, "Pedro I e a Marquiza de Santos", pp. 12-19.

⁵⁹ Alfredo Valladão, "A Tentativa de Golpe de Estado em 1832", *Rev. do Inst.*, tomo especial VI., pt. III, pp. 87-92.

⁶⁰ A copy of the account of the visit as it was published in the *Diário Fluminense*, December 30, 1830, to March 12, 1831, is given in *Rev. do Inst.*, LX., pt. I, pp. 305-383; LXIV., pt. I, pp. 179-185.

⁶¹ The rumor was current in Rio even before his return that when Dom Pedro left villages in Minas where he had spent the night, the houses in which he had stayed were stoned and those persons who had courted him were jeered (João Loureiro, letter of March 5, 1831, found in "Cartas de João Loureiro, escriptas no Rio de Janeiro ao Conselheiro M. J. Maria da Costa e Sá, de 1828 a 1842", *Rev. do Inst.*, LXXVI., pt. II, pp. 271-268).

all the other provinces. In Bahia, Pernambuco, São Paulo, and Rio the unpopularity of the prince increased rapidly. His faults were exaggerated, the financial difficulties of the government were emphasized, the incapacity of the ministers ridiculed, the disregard of the constitution denounced, and the Portuguese element in the country reviled. News of the overthrow of the Bourbon absolutist, Charles X. of France, encouraged the opposition to hope for success.

The illuminations which greeted the return of the emperor from Minas were the occasion for conflicts between Brazilians and Portuguese.⁶² Houses of constitutionalists who refused to celebrate were stoned by the absolutists; Brazilian youths cheering the constitution, liberty, and freedom of the press were attacked by the Portuguese element. The old hatred and rivalry of 1821 was revived with the bitterness of ten years of frustrated hopes on the part of the Brazilians and all the arrogance of successful dominance on the part of the Portuguese.⁶³ When, on March 17, D. Pedro showed his preference for the absolutists, the conflicting elements of the opposition united.

A manifesto signed by twenty-four deputies and published in *O Republico*, demanding the punishment of those implicated in the street riots, caused the dismissal of the hated ministry, but achieved no radical change in the system of government. On April 3, the emperor yielded to the extent of convoking an extraordinary session of the assembly to handle the situation; but three days later, disgusted with the incapacity of his ministers and determined to force his way through the danger which threatened, he dismissed the cabinet of Brazilians and nominated six of his titled aristocracy, all of whom were un-

⁶² An excellent contemporary account of the events which occurred between 1830 and April 12, 1831, may be found in E. T. Bösche, "Quadros Alternados", a translation by Vicente de Souza Queiroz of the publication issued in Hamburg, 1836. The translation is printed in *Rev. do Inst.*, LXXXIII. 133-241. Bösche was a German soldier sent over in 1824 by G. A. Schäffer, agent of Dom Pedro in Germany.

⁶³ Rocha Pombo, *Historia do Brazil*, VIII. 241-244.

popular. On the same day the republicans began a revolution which the liberal monarchical party utilized at once as a means of expelling the prince. The troops, as the day wore on, deserted to the side of the rebels. Harassed, irritated, fatigued beyond measure, destitute of soldiers to enforce his will, Pedro yielded.⁶⁴ Without consulting his ministry, at two o'clock in the morning of the seventh, he wrote out his abdication in favor of his son.⁶⁵ Later, he appointed the aged José Bonifacio as the guardian of his children, embarked on an English warship, and sailed for Europe with his empress and his daughter, Queen Maria da Gloria, leaving the young Pedro II. to continue the Bragança dynasty in America. Brazil, which had won its independence from Portugal in 1822, now freed itself from the Portuguese. At last, Brazil was controlled by the Brazilians.⁶⁶

The last three years of D. Pedro's life⁶⁷ were spent in a crusade against the reactionary conservatives of Portugal where D. Miguel had usurped the throne from Da. Maria da Gloria. With a small fleet and smaller army, the ex-emperor landed in Oporto, July 9, 1832, after a year of heart-breaking delays. One year later, his fleet destroyed the Miguelist forces off Cape St. Vincent and D. Pedro entered Lisbon as the regent for his daughter. He exiled D. Miguel in May of 1834, and secured the confirmation of his title of regency from the

⁶⁴ Armitage, *History of Brazil*, II. 107-143; Rocha Pombo, *Historia do Brazil*, VIII. 244-267. Rocha Pombo's account reads with the dramatic intensity of a well written novel.

⁶⁵ Bösché, "Quadros Alternados", pp. 207-215.

⁶⁶ For a detailed account of the period between the dissolution of the assembly, November 12, 1823, and the abdication of Dom Pedro, April 7, 1831, see Rocha Pombo, *op. cit.*, VIII. 164-269. In this section the author traces the inevitable decline of Pedro's power and the rise of the Brazilian party. Pedro is presented in a very unfavorable light.

⁶⁷ The correspondence of Antonio Telles da Silva, Marquez de Resende, is exceptionally full in regard to the later life of Dom Pedro. For the period from the death of D. João VI. to the acclamation of Donna Maria da Gloria, his letters are valuable to the biographer of the prince. The correspondence is given in *Rev. do Inst.*, LXXX. 149-505.

côrtés in August. On September 20 of the same year, suffering from a complication of diseases, he proclaimed Da. Maria's majority, four days prior to his death.

Thus died the founder of the Brazilian nation. It cannot be said with justice that he was a spineless puppet of circumstance. By his liberal inclinations, the stupidity of the *côrtés*, and the shrewd action of the colonial leaders, he was led to identify himself between 1821 and 1823 with the Brazilian constitutionalist party and secure the independence of the colony. His fear of anarchy and dislike of outside restraint, his insatiable desire to retain his rights to the throne of Portugal, and the necessities of foreign policy resulted in his desertion to the Portuguese absolutist party. By identifying himself with the latter group, he brought about his own expulsion when the Brazilians in 1831 freed themselves from the Portuguese in their effort to win control of their country. As much as he loved Brazil, D. Pedro could not renounce his European connections: the founder of Brazil never became completely Brazilian. It is this fact which furnishes the key for a just evaluation of this man of vivid contrasts.

ALAN K. MANCHESTER.

Duke University.

DOCUMENT

THORNTON'S OUTLINES OF A CONSTITUTION FOR UNITED NORTH AND SOUTH COLUMBIA

The document produced in full below is from a photostat of the original in possession of the New York Public Library. It has been thought appropriate to present all the explanatory matter which the author has given in order to understand somewhat the larger schemes which he has in mind; and of which this is only a part. William Thornton, the author, was a man of unusual range of activities. Born in the island of Tortola, in the West Indies, and educated at the University of Edinburgh, he emigrated to the United States, taking up his residence in Philadelphia. In 1802, he was appointed commissioner of patents—an office just created—and served in that position until his death some twenty-six years later. He was a man of many-sided attainments and of great boldness of intellect. He was an essayist, painter, architect, and scientist. As an essayist he won the Megallanic prize offered by the American Philosophical Society for *Cadmus: or a Treatise on the Elements of Written Language*. As an architect he designed two of the public buildings of the United States: the Philadelphia Public Library and the Capitol Building at Washington, D. C. As a scientist he was greatly interested in steam navigation, and helped John Fitch build a steamboat.¹ A careful reading of the *Outlines* will reveal his ability as an original thinker and student of political science.

Those who delve into the political writings of the period during which Thornton prepared the *Outlines* are impressed with the large space given over to an interchange of political ideas and ideals. They are impressed with the space devoted

¹ Joseph Byrne Lockey, *Pan-Americanism: Its Beginnings*, pp. 273-275.

to the diffusion of French, English, and United States ideas and ideals of government. They are impressed with the wide acquaintance of the leaders of the Hispanic American countries with the current political ideas of the United States. A review of the excellent work of William Spence Robertson² along this line will reveal the existence of translations into Spanish and Portuguese of many of the most important of our documents, such as the Declaration of Independence, the Federal Constitution, the constitutions of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, the Articles of Confederation, Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*, Washington's Farewell Address, Jefferson's First Inaugural, and, above all, of portions of the writings of Thomas Paine, more especially *Common Sense*. Periodicals, like the *Gaceta de Caracas*, the *Gaceta de Buenos Ayres*, the *Gaceta de Bogotá*, the *Gaceta de Méjico*, and the *Aurora de Chile*, became the means through which these and other documents were made known to the people of Hispanic America. William Thornton thus takes his place alongside that of Francisco de Miranda, Juan Picornell, García de Sena, Juan Egaña, Juan Martínez de Rozas, Miguel de Pombo, Camilio Henriquez, Mariano Moreno, Fernando de la Mora, Manuel Dorrego, José Joaquim de Maia, Manuel Belgrano, José Artigas, José de San Martín, and Simón Bolívar, as carriers of ideas of a larger union for the Americas.

N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN.

The University of Pittsburgh.

OUTLINES OF A CONSTITUTION FOR UNITED NORTH & SOUTH COLUMBIA.
BY WILLIAM THORNTON. NUNC, AUT NUNQUAM! WASHINGTON
CITY, MARCH, 1815.

Introduction

The following is principally extracted from what I wrote, about the year 1800. It contains the general plan of a grand government, which I made known to one, in whom the worthy patriots of Caraccas since confided, and who promised he would endeavour to execute what

² *Hispanic American Relations with the United States.*

he appeared so much to approve; but, unhappily, the love of power dazzled a mind too weak for that magnanimous impulse of pure virtue, that elevates to a holy zeal, and that absorbs every thought in the service of God and man. He sought power on the ruins of his country, and wished to establish a consular government; expecting, thereby, to obtain the supreme command. I advised the late worthy Doctor Burke, whose writings in favour of the freedom of America have done him so much honor, to repair immediately to Caraccas. He went, and joined in opposing the plans that tended to contravene the organization of a regular free government; and assisted in opposing the sinister intentions of the character to whom I have alluded. The present situation of this individual is, however, such, as precludes me from proceeding further on this subject.

This general outline of the great plan I recommend to the attentive consideration of the friends of freedom, and of universal peace.

I mean hereafter to accompany this with a republican system of National Education, which I had long since prepared, and which was approved by the great Washington; as a letter from him on the subject will testify. This system, if adopted, will call into activity the genius and talents of every child of the Republic, rich and poor!

I have also prepared a piece on the emancipation of the Blacks, which is already in print. I cannot do justice to their cause. It requires the pen of the highest genius, and the most benevolent heart. Their friends are increasing in numbers, and I hope they will continue to enforce the great principles, that, *nations to be happy, must be just.*

I am preparing a piece on the christian religion, and endeavouring to explain the doctrines of our Saviour, in a way that, I hope, will be more free from the stumbling blocks of the learned; and that will tend to render the Divine Truths more comprehensible by the unlearned and savage. In these great works I am sensible of my incapacity, but, engaging in them from a sense of duty, I bow down, in humility, before the Eternal, and incomprehensible in power and wisdom.

WILLIAM THORNTON.

TO THE CITIZENS OF NORTH AND SOUTH COLUMBIA.

Commence nothing, of which thou hast not well considered the end, is a sage maxim, that ought to be forever impressed upon the mind, when turned to objects that involve unforeseen consequences; especially when these events comprise the fate of Nations; for even the most ex-

panded minds may occasionally be led, by the indulgence of favorite opinions, to conclusions very remote from those that the prudent dictates of impartial reason might suggest: thus, I have been obliged, while contemplating the grandeur and sublimity of the following subject, to pause, and consider well its end. It is a subject which excites in the warm heart of Benevolence the most sublime sensations. I feel a peculiar sympathy in all that relates to it. I was born in America, between the tropics, and being a Carib by birth, I feel an unspeakable attachment to the whole race of the Columbians: but divesting myself, while engaged in this theme, of my attachments and feelings, I cannot find any cause to suppress my opinions that can at all compete with the motives that govern them.

When we read the accounts of the Indians of the islands, of North and South Columbia, and find they were so brave, yet so refined, we cannot but be interested in their fate; and the descendants of those heroes who so nobly sacrificed themselves for their country, must be dear to every man who has a spark of the sacred fire of virtue. The Spaniards who conquered them were brave, but their bravery was exceeded by their rapacity and cruelty; for they destroyed, in a very short time, nearly all the natives of the Islands, and thousands of those on the Continent.— The Spaniards indeed fought like Heroes, but all their courage, with the aid of gunpowder, and all the science of tactics would have been unavailing against the invincible courage of the natives, if divisions had not taken place between the different tribes, and between the different nations. These divisions caused their separate, and finally their collective ruin. For three hundred years the descendants of those brave but unfortunate Indians have been in a state of political humiliation. Being found worthy of a better fate, some of the Spaniards have, by intermarriages with them, produced a race of men whose characters seem to have risen from the virtues of both. They are energetic and enterprising. The characters of a few produce an influence on many. They feel attachments to all who are born in the country, whether of mixed or unmixed blood. This attachment has given umbrage to the foreign Spaniards, who are sent to the country clothed with power; and jealousies have long deprived the colonial descendants, even of Spaniards, of those dignities, to which, with many other of the natives, they were, by virtue and ability well entitled. Disaffection has followed, and oppression has succeeded. The most

venal and corrupt measures have been pursued to aggrandize and enrich the powerful favorites of a court, which has thus distinguished, for ages, between its subjects and colonists. The oppressed colonists have, time after time, represented their hard sufferings; but the ear of the monarch has been for ever shut. The North Columbians enjoyed a free government, and were happy: but the ministry of England proclaimed their right to tax the colonists unheard. The whole country rose in arms, not to redress grievances, but to avert oppression.— And will the South Columbians for ever bear the scourges of tyranny?—No! they are men, and have not only the feelings but the courage of men. Let them *will freedom*, and all the powers of the earth combined will be unable to quench the flame of liberty! It is the voice of Heaven that calls; a voice that will shake the ends of the earth! Let the people look up in perfect confidence to the Most High! The time of their delivery is at hand! They will meet in Convention, and declare the freedom of all the Columbian nation. Every man in the North will hear with joy the proclamation of Liberty in the South. He will stretch out his hand in the triumph of his heart, and hail in rapture his emancipated brother! He will now cast his eye upon the globe, and, viewing the extent of Columbia, will say, Who shall disturb our peace?—! We will unite, remain free, and be forever happy!

I know well the sentiments of the Columbians of the North. There is scarcely an individual who does not join me in the sincere wish to see the complete establishment of freedom in every part of the Southern Hemisphere. If the South Columbians *will their freedom* they are free! When free the bonds of society require, that universal political freedom and individual power be delegated, and this delegated power being concentrated, forms the basis of government. The restraints upon this power are formed by the Legislature; and, being written, form the Statute Law; those which have arisen from immemorial Custom, form the common or natural Law. Persons appointed to apply the Law to the concerns of the community are called the Judiciary: and he who enforces the Law the Executive. In well organized governments these three branches are carefully kept distinct, and independent of each other.

The extent, or geographical limits, of a government will vary, according to the extensive minds of the inhabitants, or natural boundaries; or artificial limits, imposed by extra power. If an individual

from a small state were to view the bounds of our present empire, he would be astonished at its extent, and would conclude that no system could be devised to arrange, under regular laws, so extensive and varied a region, where the products, the situation, and the trade were so different. But the inhabitants of these states comprehend the relations of every part; and as if looking at a map, take in, at one view, the whole limits. They find that as each part contributes essentially to the free political existence of the whole, so does the whole serve to protect, and preserve unmolested, each part. Were it not for this federal power, the States composing this empire would crumble by internal divisions, the jealousy of rival, or the combination of adverse States. This spirit of jealousy has kept Europe continually embroiled. Millions of men have been sacrificed to the ambitious views of individuals, and peace seems but a short breathing turn to exhausted combatants. Henry the fourth, of France, conceived a grand project for the regulation of Europe. He wished a convention to be formed for the general arbitration of all the disputes of the States and Kingdoms of that division of the globe. Queen Elizabeth of England, whose affairs were under the management of some of the wisest ministers of Europe, was disposed to adopt this sublime plan; but the small States, the petty regencies, which would have been rendered secure by such an universal guarantee, were the first, through ignorance, perhaps, as much as jealousy to oppose this grand design. Henry's death frustrated the prosecution of a plan, the fulfillment of which would have given to Europe, at least the innumerable blessings of peace. Many of the states, which were unfriendly to the plan, no longer exist; and others, after bloody wars, have repeatedly changed their governments and tyrants. Henry's plan was however essentially defective; for if executed, it would have tended to the preservation of the governments as then existent, and the melioration of the lot of the oppressed would have been thereby in a great degree prevented. His plan was also supposed to originate more in a desire to diminish the power of Austria, in relation to France, than from a liberal policy towards other nations; and he had not only to contend against jealousies but prejudices. We are, happily, far removed from the old world, where ancient prejudices & accustomed modes of thinking might tend to exclude extensive improvements as extravagant innovations.

The Columbian inhabits a vast country. We visit state after state;

we visit region after region; we range from island to island, and from continent to continent—still within the limits of our native land. We inhabit a country whose bounds are measured but by the poles and the ocean. The aborigines still extend through this vast region: hundreds of unconquered nations still possess it. When the English settled this portion (now the United States) they and their descendants purchased of the natives some title to the soil.—Has any other nation extinguished the original claim?—no!—no other nation then possesses any claim, except what is derived from force, and thence repugnant to justice. The ABORIGINES AND THOSE THEY HAVE ADOPTED are thus the only actual proprietors of the countries and lands they have never sold; & nothing is wanting, but those mutual concessions, that every individual makes, to secure to himself, & to the whole, the enjoyment which arises from protection: ties originate from these that lead to the formation of regular governments, in various individual regions, and those conservative bonds will be still more strengthened by a connection of the whole. These sentiments have, for many years, impressed me, and I have been, gradually, preparing the minds of many of my Fellow Citizens with the idea of extending the republican system over the whole Continent of North and South Columbia, with the adjacent islands, by forming the whole into thirteen Sections, with distinct governments, yet the whole united by one general government, placed on the isthmus of Darien. Thus the Eagle, or representative of power, would rest on the Isthmus, and extend one protecting wing over North, and the other over South Columbia. By some, this plan has been considered as too extensive; for every part of a country, under the same government, is so intimately connected with the whole, that unless the bounds are within reasonable limits, which admit the ready communication of important intelligence, and also of instruction to the person delegated, it would be subject to great inconvenience; and difficulties would thence arise. It is thought by some, that the bounds of our present government*, are even too remote; because the communication is now difficult. It may be remarked that this difficulty will daily decrease, as the roads improve; and if the inconveniences are now surmountable, they will in time entirely cease. This system precludes in its very formation, the inconveniences that might arise from extent of territory; for no section is contemplated which would exceed in extent

* This was before the purchase of Louisiana.

the present government of the United States, except the North sections, which are made larger than the rest, under a supposition that the number of inhabitants would not be as great in proportion to the quantity of soil as in the more temperate or warm sections: and as every section, as now contemplated, would have immediate access, by sea, to the general (supreme, or grand) government, the difficulties of communication would never be great, independent of the telegraphic system, which is still in its infancy, and yet intelligence can now be given with ease twenty miles a minute. It must also be admitted that the objects of the supreme government would be of a more extensive nature, than in the sectional governments, and consequently might be more deliberative. They who think the difficulties of government would increase with the increase of territory will certainly advocate this system of sections, connected by one general head, rather the plan of increasing the territory of the present government; and yet I cannot object to it from a supposition that such inconveniences would arise from its mere extension, as some pretend to foresee; but if the practicability of governing so extensive a country be admitted, it is impossible to deny the more facile mode of its government by this general plan. The contemplation and adoption of this, or one similar to it, judiciously matured in all its parts, ought not to be delayed; for it must, in all our calculations for futurity, be ever impressed on the mind, that in one hundred years, according to the present ratio of increase, one hundred millions of people will be subject to this government—and what power can keep such a force within bounds!—If the neighbouring governments increase in a similar ratio, or one approaching to it, in consequence of possessing every similar advantage, except only the form of government: and if we judge of the jealousies of the neighbouring governments from the experience of European establishments, we must assent to the propriety of turning our attention to this work, which embraces the destinies of so many millions. The supine legislator, who, having arrived at the acme of his wishes, contents himself in enjoying the fruits of his momentary zeal in the temporary arrangements of the public weal, is unworthy of the honors conferr'd. The Columbian, who plans but for his own lifetime is a being of contracted soul. He whom the Almighty has placed early in this country ought not to forget the high behests of duty. They call

him to prepare for the existence of a people whose numbers, whose knowledge, whose grandeur the world has never yet equalled.

The legislator who will now plan for futurity, and who, laying aside the narrow prejudices of birth, or education, prepares to mingle all nations in universal happiness, is indeed worthy of his early existence; and the blessings of immortality will not be denied to him whose life has tended to the advancement of human felicity. Our countrymen ought to dwell on this theme. It is worthy of contemplation! If nothing be done; if governments form themselves around us, essentially different; if daring chiefs, at the head of armies, and ambitious politicians, disturb our repose, it will be vain to offer the branch of peace. Our pacific system, if continued, would then but offer temptations to aggression, and we should repine at the necessity of armies and warfare, now so justly deprecated. There are but few minds so elevated with the dignified sense of public good as to retire, without a struggle, when recalled to private life.* Men vested with high military authority have more generally obtained by promises of reward, the support of the armies they commanded, and then assumed the regal power. We learn this not only from ancient but modern example, and millions now groan under the oppressive tyranny of despicable upstarts, whose depravity is unbalanced by a single virtue. The blood of the honourable boils at the recollection of atrocities committed on peaceable and defenceless nations; and the lessons we read in the open book of events should be forever impressed on the mind of the Columbian! With a knowledge of all that has preceded, who would leave to chance the fate of the Western Empire! The fool only that cannot think!

It is essential to the future undisturbed repose of Columbia, that a complete accord in political sentiments should be established; and if all the nations of this vast country, as fast as the progress of civilization would effect it, were to establish forms of government on the plan of the United States, as nearly as their present forms and principles will allow;—using Alcaldes &c. till more acquainted with the excellence of our political institutions: dividing, in the first place, the whole Continent into proportionate Sections, and these Sections into States as in our present government, the confederative plan would only require to

* Washington is a grand example to the contrary! but history scarcely furnishes a parallel.

be carried one step higher, to complete the grandest system that has ever been formed by the most expanded mind of man: a system that would secure to the remotest ages the tranquillity and peace, the virtue and felicity of countless millions!

To effect this the whole Continent and its Islands should be divided in the following, or in a similar manner.

SECTIONS

Let the 44th degree of North latitude be the South boundary of the first and second sections, which may be divided by a line running due North, from the Lake of the Woods, and from that lake southerly to the Mississippi, till it is intersected by the 10th degree of west longitude from the supreme or grand government of Columbia,† or the 90th degree of west longitude from London.

The first Section, or Commonwealth,

will be on the west side of this longitudinal line.

The second Section, Republic, or Commonwealth,

with its isles, on the East.

The third Section, or Commonwealth,

will extend from the 44th degree, of North latitude, to the tropic of Cancer, and from the Pacific ocean to the Gulf of Mexico, then to the Rio Bravo, and up till that river is intersected by the 33d degree of North latitude: then due North to the 44th degree.

The fourth Section, or Commonwealth,

will be from the Rio Bravo, and the last line running North, then along the South line of the first section to the Mississippi, then South with that river to the Gulf of Mexico, then to the Rio Bravo‡.

† So called, because Columbus was undoubtedly the discoverer of this Continent, and not Americus.

‡ This plan of a general government having been formed long before the purchase of Louisiana, it will be proper to make some observations thereon. I rejoice exceedingly that the United States have made this purchase; for the consideration paid for it was a trifle scarcely worthy of mention compared to its value. This will enable the United States to give up a territory to its self-government, which would, if held by us, be viewed only as a colony; and what motive have we to possess a colony? It is certainly very valuable, and that value must daily increase; but why derive such increase of riches, when our population, amounting in less than a century to 100,000,000 in so vast an Empire would leave no motive;

The fifth Section, or Commonwealth,

will include the two Floridas and the United States as far as the South boundary of the second section.

The sixth Section, or Commonwealth,

will include all the Continent from the Tropic of Cancer to Nicaragua, on the South West of the Lake, thence through the middle of the lake, and down the river St. Johns.

The District of ‡ America, containing the seat of the Supreme Government, of the Continent, and Islands of Columbia,

will include the space between the South line of the sixth section, bounded by both seas, and the river Hambre, thence in a line to the Rio Atrato Darien Choco. The city of *America*, would be on those healthy hills, that intersect the Isthmus at, or near Panama, and where a canal may be made from sea to sea, by locks. From this place all our longitudes ought to be calculated, and references are herein made, in conformity thereto.

The seventh Section, or Commonwealth,

will include all the West India § Islands.

and especially if we should thereby run counter to the legitimate institutions of government by attempting to rule a people whose situation would render it more convenient to establish a government of their own. If we magnanimously cede to them a soil which is valuable, though it cost such a trifle, we shall at once impress the whole world with our generous consideration of natural rights: we shall convince the South Columbians that we ought to be viewed without those jealousies that an apparent design of increasing our dominion and power might suggest. This conduct will not only convince our friends of our sincerity in this great cause, but will induce them the more readily to concede territory, and make liberal divisions for the benefit of the whole, by equalizing the powers they possess over soil and numbers. The sacrifice of it is nothing, considering we may reserve and secure the equal navigation of the Mississippi; but the example is great, and the honor of such an act of liberality without a parallel. The cost of the country would be considered as due, with the legal interest thereof, and as the government of that country disposed of the soil it would gradually be repaid. It might also be ceded with a view to the fulfilment of the great cause; and with such other considerations, as should, while it would attach the people of that country to this, give no cause to us to lament so noble a cession.

‡ So called in honor of Americus Vesputius.

§ This ought not to be considered as inimical to the nations who possess colonies; for were they concentrated into a nation, & every individual enjoying his property in security and every port open to the world, what could any nation desire more? Let reason, Philosophy, and Philanthropy join in pleading this cause.

The eighth Section, or Commonwealth,

will include all from Darien, running from the bounds of the District of America, with the sea to the* equinoctial line, excluding Trinidad, Curasoa, Margarita, and all the Islands more distant from the continent than Margarita

The ninth Section, or Commonwealth,

will begin west, and run with the equinoctial line, east, to the 17th degree east (answering to the 62nd degree west, from London) then due South, till the line fall into the river Paraguay, or its branches; then down the river, till it intersect the 13th degree of South latitude; then west to the sea, and with the sea to the beginning.

The tenth Section, or Commonwealth,

will run with the equinoctial line from the east boundary of section 9th to the sea; then with the sea, to the 15th degree of South latitude; then west to the river Paraguay; then Northerly with that river, and with the east boundary of section 9th to the equinoctial line.

The eleventh Section, or Commonwealth,

will extend from the Pacific ocean, along the South boundary of section 9th in 13 degs. South latitude, to the river Paraguay; then down that river, till it intersect the 28th degree of South latitude; then west, in that degree, to the sea; then with the sea to the beginning.

The twelfth Section, or Commonwealth,

will run from the 15th degree of South latitude, from the Atlantic ocean, west, to the river Paraguay; then down the said river, to its mouth; then with the sea to the beginning.

The thirteenth Section, or Commonwealth,

will run from the 28th degree of South latitude, from the Pacific ocean to the river Paraguay; and down that river to its mouth; then with the sea, round Cape Horn to the beginning; including the islands in its vicinity.

The division appears in some instances unequal, but it arises from the situation of the countries with respect to soil, climate, natural

* The geographical rather than natural division has here been made, because all the North of this section or division will have immediate access to the sea, whereas, the interior of the next section, to the South, particularly the 10th, ought to have the benefit of the great River of the Amazons, to render the advantages of commercial communication more equal.

boundaries and political relations. This may be revised, but it is thought that a more equable division, considering every relation, will not easily be made.

If, however, the ancient attachment of the inhabitants to accidental boundaries, already established, should induce them to wish a continuance of the former boundaries, rather than the establishment of new ones, they ought, maturely, to weigh all the advantages that will be obtained in the equalization of these limits; for whatever may be lost on one side, will probably be more than compensated on another. Besides, they will be all under the same general government, and whatever connection and relation may exist now, will be hereafter amicably retained. It will be like the division of a paternal estate, which the superannuated or dying parent is dividing among his numerous descendants; and when the estate is so incalculably large, that there will be enough for families as numerous as the sands of the sea-shore, Why should there be any petty disputes about limits? In the United States, individual states, gave up as much, voluntarily, as was sufficient to create new states; but the lines of the new states are still imaginary, with relation to the connection of the inhabitants; for the produce of all is sent to the nearest and best market, and it ought to be the same in the combined Commonwealths or Sectional Governments; for it will be considered as a fundamental principle, *that whoever is a citizen of one, is a citizen of all; and that his rights extend through the whole!*

This general or supreme government will have the same relation to the different sections or commonwealths, that the government in each section will have to the state governments of the individual sections.

Every section should be divided into states, as in the present government of the United States, but with as great attention to the extent and quality of territory, in each, as can well be devised; not leaving them to chance, as was done in the United States; from which the most unequal division of power has resulted: for the smallest states have the same sovereign power, in the general government, that the most extensive possess; and yet some states have not extent of territory sufficient to enable them, by revenues derived from taxation, to support, with dignity, a state government.

I would recommend to each Sectional Government or Commonwealth, the adoption of the constitution of the United States, or fifth

section or Commonwealth, as far as circumstances will admit, except in the mode of electing the President; which I propose to alter in the following manner.* In every sectional government or commonwealth, there should be a district laid out for every 100,000 free persons, without regarding State divisions (unless formed with a view to this object) supposing the Sectional government to contain only two millions, and so in proportion, but not to exceed twelve Districts in any Sectional government: and that every District shall, on the same day, elect a person from their respective District, by electors chosen in each District as in the constitution of the 5th Section, for President of their Sectional government or commonwealth. But no Section shall be entitled to elect, if it should not contain thirty thousand free persons, nor shall any Section be considered as established, until it have declared itself a sovereign and Independent Power.* In doing which, I pray the Almighty to dispose the minds of legislators to the considera-

* The present mode is liable to be affected by the most depraved corruption through the press. The political opinions of dignified honesty have been often obliged to submit to the cavillings of venality; and nominal distinctions have been made, that men may be classed in parties, and thereby rendered subservient to the views of individuals, solicitous of office. Artificial distinctions have thus been made, where no real difference existed; and parties have been formed, and led by the interested, without considering either their own, or the political creed of their opponents. The interested supporters of these divisions have so long accustomed these tools of their views to the idea of a distinction, that they are now convinced it really exists: but, examine the sentiments of the most violent of both parties, and the shade of a difference will scarcely be perceived, if they are good men; but the meaning of the leaders will be resolved by the question, who shall be President? depending themselves on being in or out of office according to the turn of that election. Thus, the whole people are imposed upon by a few, and many virtuous men, of ability, have been carried with the current, without attending to the causes by which they were gradually led to espouse a particular party. To endeavour to obviate this great evil, and thereby avert all the causes of political dissention, by which worth and benevolence are, at present, divided. I have not hesitated to recommend this change, and to offer my reasons in this bold language.

* It has been supposed there would be a want of confidence in a person not elected by the voice of the whole nation: but such an idea, if well considered, will be deemed an unpardonable disparagement of the character of the Columbian worthies. I am of opinion there are not merely twelve, nor twelve hundred, but twelve thousand, any one of whom would fill the chair of state with a dignity and ability that would put to the blush any crowned head in the world! Besides, in all the movements of our political institutions we have prepared the checks of deliberative age,—by a reference to the Senate.

tion of the cause of the blacks, whose oppression has long stained the page of natural rights.

A President and Vice President of each Section should then be taken, by lot, out of the twelve names returned by the Districts of the Sectional Government; who would stand in the same relation to each other, that they now do in the present government of the fifth Section: but the President should serve for six years, and not be re-eligible; for if he could be re-elected, he would probably be less independent and firm, seeking through the first period, by attention to parties and persons, rather than to duties, a re-induction to the chair of state. By the above mode of election, a person in either party (in or out of office) might become the President, which would effectually secure, to all out of office, a delicate attention and consideration by those in office; and thus, in a short time, unfriendly distinctions, jealousies, and parties would cease; and the only tests, required for office, would be virtue, ability, and industry.

COLUMBIAN, INCAL OR SUPREME GOVERNMENT

This ought to consist of an Inca;* twenty-six Sachems,* viz. two from each Sectional Government; fifty-two Caziques, viz. four from each Sectional Government; and thirteen Judges, viz. one from each Sectional Government or Commonwealth.

Out of the Senate of each Section two persons from different States should be elected, by ballot, for Sachems of the Incal, Columbian, or Grand Government; then information of such election having been given, by the Senate, to the House of Representatives in each Section, four persons should be elected by ballot, representing different States in that house, for Caziques of the Grand government; so that neither two Sachems, nor two Caziques, nor a Sachem and Cazique shall represent the same State. The States, from which these members of the Supreme government may be drawn, will then replace them by an immediate new election; or the name, in each State, next on the list

* It is thought proper to adopt these names; being derived from the aborigines of this vast empire. They will also by differing from the titles of the dignitaries of other empires, be better understood. The Inca was the supreme ruler of the South: the Sachems were the chief or head men of North Columbia; the Caziques the chiefs or superiors of the South. This compliment is due to the brave and refined people who first inhabited this quarter of the world: and if we wish to view humanity in a stile of pure, dignified, and unadulterated nature, visit the Araucanians, whose history has been published by the Abbe Molini.

to those elected may answer. The Sachems of each Section, will be considered as elected to the council of Sachems, or Senate of the Supreme government; the Caziques of each Section be considered as the Representatives of the different Sections, or members of the Council of Caziques in the Supreme Government. The Inca shall be elected from the Council of Sachems by a joint ballot of the Sachems & Caziques.† The next on the ballot would be the Grand Sachem, and preside in the Council of Sachem; who would, in case of the death, removal, or resignation of the Inca, assume that high dignity. The Inca might be elected for eight years; but not be re-eligible: the Sachems elected for eight years, re-eligible: the Caziques for four years, re-eligible.

On assembling in council, as soon as the Inca and Grand Sachem shall have been elected, the whole number of Sachems shall, according to the sections they represent, be as equally divided as possible, into four parts; in no instance two from the same section in one division; then, by lot, the seats of the first division of six will be vacated in two years, the seats of the next six or second division in four years; the seats of the third six, or third division in six years; and the seats of the fourth division of six in the eighth year. The Sachem to be elected, in the section from which the Inca shall be drawn, will be in the last class. The Sachem to be elected, in the section whence the grand Sachem shall be drawn, will be in the second class: thus one fourth will be chosen every second year. The Caziques should, in like manner, be divided into four classes, one seat from each section should, every year, be vacated and filled; by which a regular succession of newly acknowledged power will be derived from each sectional government; and a lively spirit of communication kept up, annually, between the head and members of this vast body politic.

The powers of the supreme government would extend, like the other governments, over the small section in which it would be placed; the power of the Inca would so far extend over the whole, as to enable him to make treaties with foreign nations, with the consent and advice

† It might be considered as objectionable to leave a section deficient in its representation in the Council of Sachems, till a re-election could fill it; but when it is considered as a deliberative body, on whose acts so much depends, it could scarcely involve in any possible inconveniences: especially as a re-election could soon follow.

of a majority of the Houses of the Sachems & Caziques, separately. He should have the power of declaring war, by and with the consent and advice of two thirds of the Houses of the Sachems and Caziques, separately.

The Inca shall be authorized to call on each and every sectional government, for one third of their marine force, in time of peace, of which he will be the commander in chief; and will appoint all the officers of such portion taken from the government where such force shall originate; or select from five times the number given by the President of the section: but in time of war, the Inca shall be commander in chief of the navy of combined Columbia, and no sectional government should be permitted to hold any vessel of war, above a specified rate, and those only for the protection of trade and revenue. The Inca shall also be the commander in chief of the armies of Columbia, when called into actual service. It is proper to clothe him with great naval power because he will be able, by such authority, not only to repel the attacks of any foreign nation, but also to preserve uninterrupted harmony, between the various confederated governments over which he will preside. The Presidential powers will extend over the armies of their respective sections, at all other times; and the governors of states over the militia, except when in actual service.

Telegraphs, when perfected, will convey, from the remotest bounds of this vast Empire, any communication to the supreme government in twenty-four hours, with ease; and any measures dependent on this knowledge, will be as rapid as the occasion may require.

The supreme court would be formed by thirteen judges, elected by the nomination of five to the Senate and Representatives, by the President of each sectional government; one of the five should be elected by a joint ballot of these two houses; and the thirteen judges, thus chosen, would be the supreme judges of the supreme or Incal government. The Incal, supreme or grand, judges should have salaries equal to the Sachems, and would hold their offices (as the superior and inferior judges of the sectional governments,) during good behavior; and no diminution of their salaries should take place during their continuance in office. They would have original jurisdiction in all disputes between the different sectional governments, in all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls from foreign states, and of all treaties formed by the supreme government.

They would have appellate jurisdiction in all cases in law and equity arising from the written laws of the supreme district, or district of America; in all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; and in controversies in which the supreme government should be a party; and their decisions should be given with their reasons at length, in writing, in the English and Spanish languages.

The subject of salaries, terms, internal government of the Supreme District, as well as the Governmental Districts of each section, will naturally suggest themselves to the different sections in organizing them, and forming the grand connecting ties of this immense Empire.

The cosmometry or measurement of the world, with relation to longitude, shall commence at the Supreme Seat of Government.

END.

BOOK REVIEWS

Las Siete Partidas. Translation by S. P. SCOTT. (Chicago: Published for the Comparative Law Bureau of the American Bar Association by Commerce Clearing House, Inc., 1931. Pp. xeviii, 1505. \$15.00.)

The publication of the first complete translation into English of the *Siete Partidas*, with an Introduction by Judge C. S. Lobingier and a bibliography by Mr. John Vance, of the Library of Congress, is an event of great interest not only to lawyers but to all students of the history of Spain and Spanish America. This monumental code of law was written during the reign of Alfonso the Wise, King of Castile. It is believed to have been completed about 1263. The names of the men by whom the work was done are not known; but credit for the initiative is generally accorded to King Alfonso, and some authorities believe that much of the code was written by him. As its name indicates, the book is divided into seven parts which deal respectively with the canon law; public law and administration; property and procedure; domestic relations; obligations and maritime law; succession; and crimes and general principles.

The *Siete Partidas* were intended to constitute a complete body of law for the guidance of the king's subjects in their relations to the Church, the State, and to each other. As such they give us an interesting insight into the life of a medieval state. The duties of the king are prescribed, as well as those of his people. Tyranny is denounced, and the right of the people to depose a tyrant is recognized. The qualifications of those entitled to knighthood are carefully enumerated. The conduct of war on land and sea is regulated. In the third *Partida* the jurisdiction of the courts, and the rules of civil and criminal procedure are prescribed. In the seventh the use of torture is sanctioned and regulated. Its use is justified by the declaration that it "affords great advantages to the administration of justice for by employing it judges very often learn the truth of concealed crimes". Doctors of law are exempt from torture "on account of the honor attaching to science". Women were not permitted to be advocates "because when women lose their modesty it is a difficult matter to listen to them and dispute with them"!

The *Partidas* are drawn very largely from Roman Law sources. No attempt was made during the reign of Alfonso the Wise, to put the code in force. Such an attempt would have aroused vigorous opposition on the part of those who were interested in maintaining their privileges under the old laws. For nearly a century the *Partidas* were used only as a text book in the universities. It was not until 1348 that the *Partidas* were promulgated by Alfonso XI, great grandson of Alfonso the Wise, but as supplementary law only, subject to the *Fuero Real* and the privileges of the nobles. In 1505, the *Ley de Toro*, promulgated at the Cortes of Toledo, gave the *Partidas* full force of law, and marked the definite turning point at which the Roman Law became dominant in Spain over the Germanic. Twenty-five years later, a royal decree provided that in all matters not governed by the special laws of the Indies the laws of Castile should be applied in the Spanish overseas dominions. Thus the *Partidas* were carried to Spanish America, and brought half the western hemisphere under the sway of the civil law of Rome. They continued to constitute the fundamental law of the land until superseded centuries after by the modern codes of the republics of Spanish America. The extension of the laws of the Indies to the Spanish possessions in the Orient carried the *Partidas* to the Philippine Islands, where they remained in force until the promulgation there, in 1889, of the Civil Code of Spain.

The *Partidas* are of particular interest to us, because of the fact that this ancient code was the basic law of that vast area of our territory formerly subject to Spanish rule. The *Partidas* are frequently cited in the early decisions of the American courts of Louisiana, Texas, and California. For many years after the cession of the Philippines to the United States the law of divorce in those Islands was governed by the *Partidas*. The Spanish Civil Code, promulgated in the Philippines in 1889, authorized civil marriage. Up to that time, during the Spanish régime, the only marriage of recognized validity was that sanctioned by the Catholic Church. The new code also liberalized the divorce law by recognizing several grounds for judicial separation. These reforms did not last long. In December, 1889, a few days after the new code took effect, Governor General Weyler issued a decree suspending its provisions on the subject of marriage, divorce, and the civil register. In a divorce case (*Benedicto vs. de la Rama*, 3 Phil. Rep. 34) taken on appeal to the Philippine Supreme Court a few

years after the establishment of American sovereignty it was held that the effect of General Weyler's decree was to revive the law of the *Partidas* concerning divorce, and the case was decided by applying the provisions of that ancient code. The *Partidas* authorized judicial separation, without dissolution of the bonds of marriage, upon the ground of infidelity exclusively. It is interesting to note that under King Alfonso's code husband and wife stood upon equal footing, whereas under the Spanish Civil Code of 1889, the wife's infidelity entitled the husband to a divorce unconditionally, but similar misconduct on his part did not entitle her to relief unless accompanied by "public scandal or disgrace to the wife". For nearly twenty years after our acquisition of the Philippines, until the enactment of the Philippine Divorce Law of 1917, our citizens resident there, as well as the native and foreign inhabitants, were governed in this important branch of the law of domestic relations by the code which Alfonso the Wise gave his people more than two centuries before the discovery of America.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Scott did not live to see his translation of the *Partidas* in print. His manuscript, the result of years of labor, was given to the Comparative Law Bureau of the American Bar Association for publication in 1911; but it was not until 1928, at the Buffalo meeting of the Association, that Judge Lobingier, the learned author of several interesting articles concerning the *Siete Partidas*, succeeded in making publication possible by enlisting the interest of Mr. William Kixmiller, the president of the Commerce Clearing House, Inc., and in bringing about an arrangement under which the cost of publication was defrayed by Mr. Kixmiller's firm, the Comparative Law Bureau of the American Bar Association, and individual subscribers to the fund.

F. C. FISHER.

Washington, D. C.
(formerly Manila, P. I.)

Ymago Mundi de Pierre d'Ailly, Cardinal de Cambrai et Chancelier de l'Université de Paris, 1350-1420. Texte Latin et Traduction Française des Quatre Traités Cosmographiques de d'Ailly et des Notes Marginales de Christophe Colomb—Étude sur les sources de l'Auteur. By EDMOND BURON (ed.), Archiviste du Gouvernement Canadien, ancien élève à l'École Normale Supérieure. 3 vols.

(Paris: Maisonneuve Frères. 1930. Pp. 828, paged consecutively. 375 fr.)

Among the literary relics of Christopher Columbus that have not been pilfered or lost from the *Biblioteca Colombina* in Seville, are several books distinguished by being annotated in manuscript that suggests the hands of Christopher Columbus, of his brother, Bartholomew, and of one or more of their contemporaries. These works are *Ymago Mundi* by Pierre d'Ailly (about 1480-1483 A.D.) *Historia rerum ubique gestarum* by Enea Silvio (1477); a Latin abstract of the book of Marco Polo, *Incipit prologus in libro domini Marci Pauli* . . . (about 1485); a Spanish edition of the Lives of Plutarch, *Las Vidas de Plutarco* (1491); and *Libro de las Profecias*, a manuscript collection of predictions, sacred and profane, compiled by Christopher Columbus (about 1501-1502), with a few marginal notes attributed to him. Some of the predictions are believed to be his.

To the Americanist, the chief interest of these works is their reputation as sources of information and inspiration to Columbus. That they served as such is a logical conclusion from the manuscript notes attributable to him. It is a mistake to regard the notes, most of them in the margins, as comments, or expressions of views or notions, originating in the mind of the annotator or appropriated by it. They are, in general, mere transcripts or memoranda, of value only as indications of particular interest and attention. A few are original comments. Several in the form of tables and figures are also originals, calling for special interpretation and comment. Biographically it is important to know by whom the annotations were severally made and when.

Of the forementioned volumes the one that is richest in manuscript and thus the most interesting and valuable is Pierre d'Ailly's *Ymago Mundi*. Mr. Buron gives us about a third of it in Latin and in French, with notes and comments. By way of introduction he sketches the genesis of Columbus's first voyage and the life of Pierre d'Ailly. His presentation of the *Ymago Mundi* is accompanied with a wealth of sources, not merely cited but quoted.

His work as translator and commentator called for a command of Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian, and a knowledge of geography, astronomy, cosmography, navigation, and the histories of those sciences, also for a familiarity with the career of Christopher Colum-

bus and its perplexing brood of polemics. To say that he has not fully met these requirements would be a half truth. His work teems with error and shortcoming, ranging from clerical and typographical slips to blunders of translation, transcription, and interpretation. It would be an imposition on the reader to cite the instances. As an illustration of them, we may take his treatment of a single topic.

On pages 144 and 145 are printed reproductions of two manuscript tables interpolated on a blank page of our *Americanum*. The text, as in the original, is in Latin. On the next two pages are the same tables with the text in French. A facsimile of the original manuscript is relegated to face page 272. There is no reference from the printed forms to the manuscript, or vice versa, and no text explaining or discussing either.

Mr. Buron attributes the manuscript to Christopher Columbus (title p., pp. 21, 26, 27, 145n, 733-734), though he admits or implies that he is unable to determine the authorship of the several manuscripts (pp. 33, 500). What ground or authority he has for this apparent inconsistency does not appear. Let us assume that it is good.

The first table gives the length of the day (daylight) for every parallel, at intervals of a degree, from 1° to 90° . Except at the equator, where it is always 12 hours, the length of the day varies, on one and the same parallel, with the movement of the earth around the sun, or as Columbus would have said, in terms of Ptolemy, with the yearly movement of the sun around the earth. In an accurate table there would be two coördinates in exact figures, latitude, and date. Columbus was satisfied with an approximation which he obtained by taking the year as numbering 360 days, and, consequently, a day as equivalent to a degree on the ecliptic (celestial longitude). Accordingly, the first column, headed degrees, stands for degrees on the ecliptic, or date (from equinox to solstice) and for degrees on the meridian, or latitude (from equator to pole). The heading of the table, as translated by Mr. Buron, reads:

Cette table montre le plus long jour dans chaque degré . . . jusqu' au pôle qu'on appelle le 90° , où le jour est de 14 heures 55 minutes et le jour 182° .

The last three words do not make sense. They should be replaced by "182 jours".

The other table gives the height of the sun above the equator, or declination, for every degree of the ecliptic in every sign of the zodiac.

In the printed heading, Mr. Buron has interpolated a semicolon which serves only to obscure the meaning. He has replaced \tilde{a} (*ascendit*) with \tilde{i} (*in*) and omitted an \tilde{i} .

This table consists of five columns, two single and three double. The single columns, on the left and right, contain each a series of numbers, increasing downward on the left, from 1 to 30, and upward on the right, from 0 to 29. Each double column is capped and footed with a couple of numbers designating two opposite signs of the zodiac.

One would think that in reproducing these tables, the ruling, the framework, of the original, would have been preserved, except so far as it called manifestly for correction. Instead, the Latin and the French reproductions are different variants of the original.

In the Latin, a 1 (one) standing for a sign of the zodiac, appears as 2 and a declination of $10^{\circ} 48'$ as $0^{\circ} 48'$. The couple 3-4, at the bottom of the table is, without explanation, misplaced as it happens to be in the original. In the French table such couples are put in columns by themselves, in no relation to anything, and are consequently meaningless.

The blunders mentioned seem to show that Mr. Buron did not get the meaning of the tables. Christopher Columbus, or whoever contributed them to d'Ailly's work, meant them for his own use, and did not care how obscure or puzzling they might be to others.

The contributor was not necessarily the computer. One may infer from the first table (length of day) that the contributor had some uncommon interest in the far north. Another such table, carried out as this one is, would be hard, if not impossible, to find in the Library of Congress, or in the Naval Observatory. Does this one corroborate the reputation of Columbus as an arctic explorer? Was it made before or after his northern voyage? Were his tables computed or compiled before or after the *Ymago Mundi* came into his hands? How accurate were they, for their day and for our day? From when to when did Columbus have this book in his possession? These questions are left unanswered, not to say untouched. They seem to call to Mr. Buron to resume his work and finish it, with the same credit to himself as is due him for his treatment of the life of d'Ailly and of the sources, the documentation, of his Eminence's *magnum opus*, the subject of this article.

JOHN BIGELOW.

Washington, D. C.

Prenociones para el Estudio de la Historia Constitucional de la República Argentina. By EMILIO RAVIGNANI. (Buenos Aires, 1930. Pp. 173).

Dr. Emilio Ravignani is known to readers of this review as the distinguished director of the *Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas* of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Buenos Aires.¹ He is also professor in the Faculty of Juridical and Social Sciences of the neighboring University of La Plata. Several years ago appeared his *Historia Constitucional de la República Argentina* (Buenos Aires, Casa Jacobo Peuser, 1926-1927, 3 vols.), a transcription of his lectures at La Plata as taken down by two of his students. In the preface to volume one, Dr. Ravignani promised a more formal and systematic treatise on Argentine constitutional history. The volume before us appears to be a *separate* of the Introduction to this later publication.

The Introduction contains three chapters. The first discusses such general matters as the concept of History and its relation to art and erudition, schools of historical interpretation, the relation between history and philosophy *per* Benedetto Croce, and an evaluation of sources for the early constitutional history of Argentina with special attention to Alberdi and Sarmiento.

Chapter two continues the discussion of sources, in particular the Argentine translations and commentaries of the works of North American writers on constitutional law, and closes with an account of the teaching of the subject in the universities of Córdoba, Buenos Aires, and La Plata. The last chapter is a critical bibliography of the printed official sources, national and provincial, and of the writings of Argentine publicists on the constitutional history of the republic since the fall of Rosas. It concludes with a brief survey of the periods into which the evolution of Argentina's political organization may for purposes of study be divided.

The volume is addressed primarily to university students of law in Argentina. It is equally useful and important for students of Argentine history anywhere. Indeed, together with the *Historia de la Historiografía Argentina* of Dr. Rómulo D. Carbía ("Biblioteca Huma-

¹ See THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, February, 1930, for a description of the Institute and its publications.

nidades'', Tomo II, La Plata, 1925) as a bibliographical *vade mecum* it is indispensable.

C. H. HARING.

Harvard University.

America Hispana, A portrait and a prospect. By WALDO FRANK.
(New York: Charles Scribner & Son, 1931. Pp. 338, XV.)

Waldo Frank relates an interview between the Peruvian president, Leguia, and one of the leaders of the intelligentsia, José Carlos Mariátegui. Advised by friends of Mariátegui that this interview never took place, Frank doubts himself: "Did José Carlos indeed relate this interview to me, or did I imaginatively construct it?" (p. 168)

This episode is typical of the whole book. It is not history even in Mr. Frank's understanding of history (as a work of art based on historic facts) and in spite of the recalling of his "great predecessor W. H. Prescott"; it is not a "symphony", as he describes it himself, in spite of the head titles "prelude" and "interlude"; it is not a "portrait", as the subtitle promises. The book, like the abovementioned interview, is the imaginative construction of a world, which Mr. Frank does not know. There are in the volume some happy expressions, some interesting ideas, but they are suppressed by the flow of prophetic and pre-tentious declamation.

It is of no use to explain to Mr. Frank that not Colombia but Venezuela was the "own country" of Bolívar, that Minas Geraes is not a "province on the coast", but a state in the interior, that the last official census in Brazil was taken, not in 1890, but in 1920, that the Argentine dance, the tango, is not of negro origin, that the Portuguese colonies were not geographically and economically close like the thirteen colonies in the north, and so on. He will answer that he is dealing "intuitively", as he has done several times in the book, even changing, according to his intuition, statistics—one more confirmation of the imaginative construction of the world he describes.

Mr. Frank's symbolism and interpretations are on the same level. He is symbolizing Mariátegui's move to the Atlantic (Buenos Aires) from the Pacific (Peru); it is naïve, since these migrations of elements of opposition are quasi-traditional in Spanish America. Argentines, like Alberdi and Sarmiento, migrated to the Pacific, Chileans, like Francisco Bilbao, to the Atlantic; the modern crusaders, such as Manuel Ugarte and José Vasconcellos, are perpetually migrating.

The reader of the preface does not need an explanation of the failure of the book: Waldo Frank acknowledges in his "Acknowledgements" that he read mostly Spanish American books sent to him by the authors, his friends and admirers, and more current periodicals than books, though not the Portuguese; on the other hand, he does not even mention the literature of the United States. Everyone who knows the modern Spanish-American writings in this field and sometimes enjoys them has to admit that the political moment dominates these writings.

Mr. Frank's opinion that "the literature of America Hispana is comparatively inaccessible, save in its broader lines" is entirely wrong. Washington has become the greatest center in the world on material and literature in this field, and I think that some of the university libraries in this country would be able, too, to satisfy Mr. Frank's quest for knowledge. But Mr. Frank, in his book, is a captive of his own intuitions, his visions, his messianic mission, as during his trip he was captured by a group of intellectuals who sponsored him and his speeches in several Ibero-American cities.

Mr. Frank does not like the machine age, but is not his book the product of a study from an airplane? I use the word "airplane" not as a metaphor.

The confusion of ideas is great, too, in Frank's book. He needs *America Hispana* as a counterpart and a marriage partner for the United States. America Hispana—thesis, United States—antithesis, Nuestra America—synthesis, and "Vamos buscar nuestra America", as he used to cry in his former writings. In *America Hispana* he idealizes the past (as he does not understand the present); in the United States he hates the present. In order to construct a reconciliation, a coexistence, a coöperation, a merger, he makes a series of diversified political, economic, and technical recommendations not logically connected with one another, and suggests changes in the political map of the continents in the belief that he has discovered the stone of wisdom. Mr. Frank's practical plan of federation was suggested by a North American (Archibald C. Coolidge), developed by a Spanish scholar (Maladriga), and dreamed of by a Peruvian (Francisco G. Calderón); the general idea of a Union has already been discussed for more than one hundred and twenty years.

But we have to admit that, always nebulous, mystic and solemn,

Mr. Frank uses words in the style of a chamber of commerce in the text of his recommendations and develops a rather sudden realism. In this aesthetically (using Mr. Frank's term) very weak part of the book are, unexpectedly, some very sound ideas on industrialization and the eventual new rôle of Spain.

It is useless to continue the discussion of this book, where the reader will find neither *Wahrheit* nor *Dichtung*, but only words—to apply his own words to his book: “There is too much water”.

On the other hand, it is perhaps time to emphasize the social rôle of Mr. Frank's writings, which has developed already into a typical campaign with “mensajes”, travels, meetings, speeches, usual banquet eloquence, and other paraphernalia.

I consider writings of this sort to be a social danger for America Hispana: They infect with lyricism, they call to the past and not to the future (the future of America Hispana is, according to Mr. Frank's views, the state of the people Israel !), they are waging a counter-attack on the beginnings of the realistic movement on the continent. For the United States, this harking back to the distant past, this striving after *Walled Towns* (R. A. Cram), this idealization of Tepoztlan (Stuart Chase), and like efforts, are a literary game, an intellectual protest against “Middletown”, against the domination of the material side of life. But for America Hispana, “Middletown” is economically still a far-away ideal.

Mr. Frank's writings find an echo in Ibero America because they artificially adapt themselves to the style and character of the Ibero-American Greenwich Village. They are dangerous, too, because Mr. Frank is not the great North American thinker, as the Greenwich Village of Ibero America tries to represent him to their countrymen.

J. F. NORMANO.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Piratas y Corsarios en Cuba, Ensayo histórico. By SATURNINO ULLIVARRI. (Habana: Maza, Caso y Ca., 1931. Pp. 237.)

Pirates and corsairs, filibusters and buccaneers, are not so picturesque today as when the black flag flew in the Antilles. Your tailor may make the pirate's clothes a little better and more expensive than yours, your eye may meet the corsair's over the directors' table and

he may board you with a promissory note; smooth speech and a poker face are his dirk and gun. No, he is not so picturesque today, and far less honest than of yore when the merchantman had a fighting chance against an open foe. Otherwise he is much the same, except that he does not roast you on a spit if he suspects you know more than you tell.

Don Saturnino Ullivarri of Habana has just published his *Piratas y Corsarios en Cuba*, in which there is no more romance than you care to add as you read; it is not written in the vivacious and patronizing style of a best seller, but in a matter-of-fact manner, incident upon incident. The author calls it a collection of details from inedited documents, books of history, logbooks, and fleeting references that have been found here and there in the literature of Cuban affairs or in which Cuba somehow figures. There is no consecutive narrative, but a series of chapters in chronological order containing names, dates, and circumstances of the depredations and depravities of forty-four pirate crews or fleets on Cuban shores and in Cuban waters over a period of more than two hundred years, beginning with 1537. Our old friends Sir Francis Drake, John Hawkins, and Henry John Morgan figure among them. There is also poor Don Juan de Benavides who let Piet Heyn the Dutchman get away with the Flota de Plata and four millions of gold ducats. When tried in Seville, the fiscal in the course of a 90-page indictment reasoned that "aunque se hallara sin culpa, debería ser castigado, como ejemplo, y para expiar tan gran desventura; que semejantes delitos no admiten misericordia sino castigarse apresuradamente". The fiscal had his way, for, after five years in jail, Benavides was mounted backward on a mule caparisoned in mourning, conducted through the principal streets of Seville, and "según la costumbre de la época, el verdugo le clavó un gran puñal tres veces en la garganta". As to Piet Heyn, the Dutch erected a statue to him in Delft, inscribed "Oro antes que plata, pero el honor ante todo" or equivalent Dutch. Similar ironies are of every age, and similar piracies, but the picturesqueness is gone, alas. The valiant John Hawkins, says our author, used to address his skewbald crew every morning in words to this effect: "Sirvan a Dios, y ámense los unos a los otros". No pirate cabin lacked a little shrine, and the Holy Virgin or some favorite saint was regularly invoked before boarding the honest merchantman. The brotherly love, what there was of it,

was strictly intrapiratical, for the prey there was often cruelty unsurpassed in any land or age.

In short, those interested in pirates and those pursuing Cuban history can both find a profusion of data in this book.

S. L. MILLARD ROSENBERG.

University of California at Los Angeles.

The Siege of Havana, 1762. By FRANCIS RUSSELL HART. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931. Pp. 54. Illus.)

This brief account of one of the most noted and fruitless British enterprises ever made against the Spanish colonies in the new world is presented under a beautiful format, which will undoubtedly satisfy bibliophiles. It is, however, more than that, for it is a very commendable monograph relative to the naval and military operations which led to the conquest of Havana by the British in 1762. The capture of Havana was, indeed, the beginning of that most inexplicable and ephemeral of the colonial attempts of Great Britain, which culminated when the British returned Havana to Spain in exchange for Florida a year later. Cuba will never finish paying for that exchange which restored Havana and its environs to Spain and made possible a century of the worst kind of despotism.

In his volume, Mr. Hart does not give his readers the complete story of the capture of Havana and its results; but the investigations that are still to be made can be glimpsed through the annotations and the documents consulted, many of the latter unpublished papers in the Archivo de Indias. Among the bibliographical sources, unfortunately, Mr. Hart has neglected to make use of the most complete compilation yet made, namely, that of the Cuban bibliographer and historian, Carlos M. Trelles, who has made wide researches in several archives.

On p. 31, the author makes the assertion that had it not been for the support of the contingent of the Anglo-American colonists, Havana would not have surrendered to the British. However, this is not a matter to be discussed in a footnote, for the colonists really reached Havana at a very critical moment and the British themselves, as is proven by the Vernon-Wager Papers, relied upon the aid of the colonists to carry the conquest of Havana to its completion—this capture, indeed, being a favorite dream of the court of St. James's.

It is singular that the majority of those who have studied this period in the history of Cuba have given attention only to the siege and capture of Havana. Very few, indeed, have written concerning the British occupation itself and the strong impetus it gave to the progress of Cuba. But this was the first time in their history that the people of Cuba could look at the world untrammelled by any obstacle. It is remarkable that, during a single year of British occupation, the port of Havana received more trading vessels than during the previous sixty-two years of Spanish domination.

The study of British administration must be made without delay, and before the sources have completely disappeared. Only several months ago, the manuscript volume of the official proceedings of the city council of Havana during the British occupation was lost and may never be recovered. One may conjecture that it has fallen into the hands of a collector and that it will, indeed, reappear at some future date; but, on the other hand, it may be in possession of some person who will not take proper care of it. At any rate its disappearance means the loss of one of the vital documentary sources for the study of this interesting period—a study that Mr. Hart has touched upon slightly in the book under review.

HERMINIO PORTELL VILÁ.

Washington, D. C.

Dialogue to Mexico. A Story of a Search for a Place. By MIRIAM STORM. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931. Pp. xii, 328, ii. Illustrated. \$3.50.)

The beautiful format, attractive illustrations, and excellent typography of this volume make a most pleasing impression, but a careful reading leaves considerable doubt that a review of it should have a place in one of the "learned" quarterlies. Among the numerous recent volumes on Mexico a person is tempted to dismiss this as "another tourist account".

It is true that the author has covered large portions of Mexico by various means of locomotion, omitting in her travels only the Yucatan section and the more arid northern states. Using a rather obvious writer's trick of searching for a mysterious land-of-all-contentment she leads the reader from "blazing" Tampico through all parts of the country in the search that is finally to end blissfully and

serenely in the west central portion of the country, in the region around Uruapan.

Though desirous of peace and beauty above all things the author cannot resist the opportunity to secure the reader's attention in her first chapter by stories of the brilliant and exotic days of the oil boom in and near Tampico. Such tales are confessedly those told by old timers and a careful reader is strongly inclined to suspect that they were "improved" and told for the entertainment of a newcomer.

The descriptions, especially of plant life and of natural phenomena, are excellent and at times gripping. One sees the gardens of Xochimilco in their glory and the *charros* in their pride as well as numerous intimate and often somewhat pathetic glimpses of domestic and home life.

For a person who has been in Mexico this is a volume worth scanning for memory's sake; for the actual tourist it is worth reading for its sympathetic introduction to touring conditions and people; for the rocking-chair tourist it will prove good reading and of considerable interest, but for the student and scholar it will provide little beyond a few impressions.

W. H. CALLCOTT.

University of South Carolina.

Silver Seas and Golden Cities. By FRANCES PARKINSON KEYES. (New York: Horace Liveright Company, 1931. Pp. 333.)

Books of travel like this work, in which the author tells her interesting personal experiences, never fail to fascinate their reading public. The author was sent through the Hispanic American countries as the representative of a great magazine; consequently, the book is written in vigorous journalistic style and is very entertaining. The geographical descriptions are vivid and colorful and various customs are related in an interesting manner; but the historical background is scant and somewhat weak.

Portugal and Spain, the mothers of Hispanic America, were visited first. The important cities of those countries were traversed rather hurriedly and the high lights of each one described. As a result an account is not given of some very interesting parts of those cities. For example, in Seville, where the author seems to have spent some time, the Roman walls, the Calle Sierpes, one of the most remarkable streets

of its kind in the world, Triana, a most picturesque section of the city where the pottery factories are situated, and the famous Archives of the Indies, are not mentioned. The author visited the usual places in southern Spain where the tourist goes and many interesting places were omitted.

Venezuela, the first country visited in South America, was found to be lacking in Spanish atmosphere, but it was recognized as a region of tremendous possibilities for the future because of its undeveloped and perhaps undiscovered resources. After stopping at the island of Trinidad, with its Hindu East Indians among the population, and at Barbados, Brazil was visited, then Uruguay, Argentina, the Falkland Islands, Magellanes, and Tierra del Fuego. Chile, geographically one of the most interesting countries of the world with its bustling capital of Santiago, its nitrate works, copper deposits, and its Christ of the Andes, is well described. La Paz, the highest capital in the world, a city of color of costumes, Lake Titicaca and its wonderful scenery, Cuzco, the sacred city of the Inca Empire, Arequipa, a drowsy, dreamy city in a beautiful setting of mountains, and Lima, with its attractive suburbs, a combination of the old and the modern, were visited. The author found the Ecuadorians to be among the most hospitable of South American people and in Quito the foreigner is made to feel at home. Colombia and Mexico were omitted in the itinerary. The last chapter is entitled "All Americans" and in it there is a good comparison between United States and South American customs; the author tries to clear up some of the mistaken ideas between the nation to the north and its South American neighbors.

The book closes with an appendix in which there is a list of steamboat companies from the United States and Europe with the prices of passage; inland waterways and how to reach them; the Straits service; cruises around the continent; the principal railroads and their schedules; airways and connections with the United States; and a short list of books of travel and fiction relative to South America. There is no index. On the whole the aim of the work seems to be to create a better understanding of Spanish American countries and for that reason it is to be commended.

LILLIAN ESTELLE FISHER.

Oklahoma College for Women.

NOTES AND COMMENT

RECENT HISTORICAL TENDENCIES IN PERU

The study of Peruvian history since 1930, in the faculty of letters in the University of San Marcos in Lima, Peru, has been carried on in three courses corresponding to the Incaic, colonial, and republic periods. Furthermore, courses in Peruvian archeology, the history of America, and of Peruvian and American literature are also being offered. These are not the only classes with regard to Peruvian history which have been for some time offered in San Marcos. The economic and financial history of Peru is taught in the faculty of economic sciences; and the history of Peruvian law and the diplomatic history of Peru are given in the faculty of law.

The amplification of university studies reflects an increasing interest for their own country in Peruvian intellectual circles. And far from limiting itself to history, attention is being given to other fields, perhaps with greater brilliancy and efficiency, namely, economics, literature, painting, and music.

With reference to history, some general tendencies during the last few years might be stated. In the first place, there is observable an emphasis on the social concept of history. It is true that one would have to go back to 1896 to find the work which first envisioned our past from the point of view of the social classes. This work was the lecture delivered by Javier Prado, later a rector of the university and chancellor of the republic, at the opening of the university year on the subject, "Condición social del Perú durante la Dominación española" (see *Anales Universitarios*). In a certain sense, the same tendency is noted in various works like "La política Económica de la Metròpoli", by Pedro M. Oliveira (see *Revista Universitaria*), the university texts of Carlos Wiese with regard to the colonial and Inca periods, and the magnificent thesis presented by Alberto Ulloa on "La Condición social y legal del Trabajo en el Perú" (see *Revista Universitaria*).

But it is during the last few years that studies of this kind have increased. César Antonio Ugarte published his *Bosquejo de la Historia económica del Perú* in 1927. In 1928 José Carlos Mariátegui

published his "*Siete Ensayos de interpretación de la Realidad Peruana*" through the Editorial Minerva of Lima. Mariátegui, whom Waldo Frank has presented to the public of the United States with fervid praise, was not a scholar. He was an essayist, and concerned himself more with the future than with the past. But in his book, he gave the first socialistic interpretation of present-day Peru by studying some of its fundamental problems, such as land, the Indian, centralism, education, religion, and other matters. Therein, he always alluded, although in a very general and sometimes elemental way to the historical evolution of these problems. Opposed to the socialistic thesis of Mariátegui, Victor Andrés Belaúnde, at present professor in Miami University, offers a Catholic thesis with regard to the Peruvian setting, also alluding to the historical bases involved therein in his work *La Realidad Nacional* (Paris, 1930). There are other more specialized essays which exhibit a like tendency. Luis Alberto Sánchez has made an analysis of Peruvian literature from that point of view in two volumes, ascribing the foremost importance not only to the dates of birth and death of the authors and to the relation of the argument of their works, but also to what the said authors and said works represent and symbolize in their period and in the national spirit. His principal work is *La Literatura Peruana* (Casa Editorial "La Opinión Nacional", Lima, 1928 and 1929). The author of these present lines, professor since 1928 of the monographic course of the history of Peru and since 1930, of the history of the republic, has tried to study the characteristics and the influence of social classes and their representative personalities during the years after the emancipation from Spain in his *La Iniciación de la República*, 2 vols., Casa Editora, F. y E. Rosay, Lima, 1928-1929).

Together with the increase of the social orientation within Peruvian historiography, other characteristics might be mentioned, namely, the greater appreciation of the importance of the prehispanic and republican periods. Formerly the interest of Peruvian historians lay preferably in the colonial period. On the colonial period, the truly monumental works of Mendiburu (namely, *Diccionario Histórico y Biográfico* 8 vols.), and Medina (*La Imprenta en Lima*, 4 vols.) shed considerable light. It is on the colonial period that Ricardo Palma wrote in literary form his best "traditions". On the colonial period also turn the happiest pages of the greatest of living Peruvian his-

torians, José de la Riva Agüero, in his *La Historia en la Perú* (Lima, Imp. F. Barrionuevo 1910); *Elogio del Inca Garcilaso* (*Revista Universitaria*, 1917, reproduced in the edition made by H. H. Urteaga, Lima, Casa Sanmarti 1918); prologue to the "Audiencia in Lima documents" published by Roberto Levillier (Madrid, Imprenta de Pueyo, 1922); *El Perú Histórico y Artístico* (Santander, J. Martínez, 1921). The movement called "nativism" is however also reflected today in the historical terrain. It is a "return to the land", a regional and local exaltation which has its focus in Cuzco, the old imperial city. It is there that their books have been written by Luis E. Valcárcel (*De la Vida Inkanka*, Lima, Editorial Garcilaso, 1924; *Del Ayllu al Imperio*, Lima, Editorial, 1924; *Tempestad en los Andes*, Lima, Editorial Minerva, 1927); and J. Uriel García (*La Ciudad de los Incas*, Cuzco, H. G. Rozas; *El Nuevo Indio*, Cuzco, H. G. Rozas, 1930). While Valcárcel exalts life during the time of the Incas he attacks the whites and mestizos in *Tempestad en los Andes*, Uriel García, as proud as or prouder than Valcárcel, because of his status as a "southern Peruvian" (that region which was the original germ of the Inca empire and where there is more pride and local consciousness than in the north) defends the mestizo notwithstanding his status.

But not only does this interest for the period of the Incas appear to be joined to the movement of rebellion against the abuses of centralism and against the preponderance of Lima. It is also joined to an exclusively historical interest, as in the book of Horacio H. Urteaga namely, *El Imperio Incaico* (Lima, Casa Editora Gil, 1931). Urteaga has also made archeological studies. In this science, the scholars of the United States are of course familiar with the name of Julio C. Tello, the present editor of the review *Wirakocha*, and the recent discoverer of the old pre-Inca civilization of Paracas.

But returning to Inca studies, there is a small book which deserves much more attention than it has received. This is *Los Antecedentes históricos del Régimen agrario en el Perú*, by César Antonio Ugarte (Lima, Casa Editora Sanmarti, 1922). This question of land has given rise to many works on the aboriginal community—that aged institution by which ownership and labor are common in certain regions within a group of families. Among such works are *La Evolución de las Comunidades indígenas*, by Carlos Valdez de la Torre (Lima, Editorial Enforión, 1921); *Nuestra Comunidad indígena*, by Hedil-

berto Castro Pozo (Lima, Imprenta El Lucero, 1924); *Ante el Problema agrario peruano*, by Abelardo Solis (Lima, Editorial Sanmarti, 1929); *La Propiedad rural en la Sierra*, by Julio Delgado (Lima, 1931).

It is impossible to omit mention here of foreign writers when discussing prehispanic studies. The old and glorious tradition of Prescott and Markham still continues. Of present North American specialists in the prehispanic history of Peru it is unnecessary to speak in this REVIEW, and it is certain that there are also some brilliant North American specialists in the colonial history. But it is curious to note that there does not seem to have been much enthusiasm aroused in the United States for the civilization of the Incas per se. In this concrete point, on the contrary, German scholars have attained very great merit. Without need of recording again that some time ago, Cunow produced marvelous studies on the "ayllu", it is sufficient to cite a more recent specialist, Trimborn, of the University of Bonn. The great public, on the other hand, can easily acquire an idea of the Inca civilization by reading the book of Louis Baudin, a professor of Dijon, namely, *L'Empire socialiste des Inka* (Paris, Institut d'Ethnologie, 1927). Another Frenchman, Raoul d'Harcourt has published some very interesting books on music, ceramics, and the textile art of the ancient Peruvians, among others the following: *La Ceramique ancienne du Perou* (Paris, Editions Albert Morance, 1924); *La Musique des Inka et ses Survivances* (Paris, Geuthner, 1925); *Les Tissus Indiens du vieux Peru* (Paris, Editions Albert Morance, 1924). The same author has also published *L'Argenterie Peruvienne a l'Epoque coloniale* (Paris, Editions Albert Morance, 1927).

Some books on the republic have also been published apart from those mentioned above. The summary of Arturo García Salazar on *Historia Internacional y Diplomática del Perú*, 2 vols. (Lima, Editorial Sanmarti, 1927) treats for the most part of the republic. The same is true of the very summary but very clear and dispassionate text of Raúl Porras Barrenechea on *Historia de los Límites del Perú* (2d ed., Lima, Casa Editorial Rosay, 1930). The biographical style has an excellent exponent in Porras Barrenechea, who is the author of *Don José Joaquín de Larriua* (Lima, 1919), *Don Mariano José de Arce* (Lima, 1927), *Don Toribio Pacheco* (Lima, 1928), *Don José Antonio Barrenechea* (Lima, 1928). Porras Barrenechea is also the

author of a scholarly study on *El Congreso de Panamá* (published by the Archivo de Límites, 1930). Jorge Guillermo Leguía also successfully cultivates biography (*El Precursor*, Lima, 1921; *Elogio de Don José Galvez*, Lima, 1928); but he has also published two volumes of a summary of the history of America, to the second of which, dealing with the war for independence, I am taking the liberty of calling to the serious attention of all teachers and students of Hispanic American history in the United States.

It would be unjust to write an article, however short and summary, without mentioning that great Peruvian scholar, Carlos A. Romero, the present director of the Biblioteca Nacional of Lima. It is of use to note that Romero has ready a voluminous *Historia de la Imprenta en Lima* which completes and rectifies the work of Medina; but that he has found no means of publishing it. To Romero and Urteaga, the latter already previously mentioned, Peruvian culture owes the recent publication of numerous chronicles, relations, and other documents of primary importance for the study of the Inca empire, the conquest, and the early years of the viceroyalty (*Colección de Documentos referentes a la Historia de Perú*, 2 series, Lima, Casa Editorial Sanmarti). Also many of the documents published by the Argentinian, Roberto Levillier, by order of the congress of Argentina, touch on Peru.

JORGE BASADRE.

Librarian and Professor of History
in San Marcos, Lima.

A LOST MONUMENT: SARMIENTO IN BOSTON

The late president of Argentina, D. F. Sarmiento, was a great admirer of the United States. He visited this country several times. He represented Argentina at Washington (1864-1868). Horace Mann, Charles Sumner, Longfellow, and Emerson were his friends in the United States. For some time Sarmiento resided in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and pursued his study of American social conditions. He wrote a life of Abraham Lincoln. Benjamin Franklin was his ideal. His appeal to his fellow-citizens was: *Seámos como Estados Unidos* (Let us be like the United States).

I considered it as very natural to read in one of the best known American books on the history of Spanish American literature that in recognition of the courtesies shown Sarmiento in the United States, especially in Boston, where he imbibed many of his ideas about schools from acquaintance with Horace Mann, *the Argentine government in 1913 presented that city with a statue of their great educator and former president.*

I was anxious to see this monument. But something strange happened: I could not find it. I asked at the State House in Boston to be allowed to become acquainted with the correspondence and other materials referring to the presentation to the City of Boston in the year 1913 by the Republic of Argentina of a statue of President Sarmiento. I have to express my special thanks to Mr. Thomas A. Mullen, director of publicity, commerce and industry for the City of Boston, who did his best to trace the records and who conferred with several departments. No record could be found. Finally, after a long search, Mr. Mullen sent me a note received by him from Mr. Alcott of the Boston Globe Library, stating that *no statue was presented by Argentina to Boston.*

Mr. Alcott was so kind as to show me some clippings at the library regarding this affair. Following this source, it became possible to see more clearly the story of this lost monument.

On July 9, 1913, the Argentine ambassador in the United States, Mr. Naón, asked Mayor Fitzgerald of Boston whether Boston would be willing to accept from Argentina a statue of Sarmiento. The mayor, of course, accepted it. The congress in Buenos Aires had

appropriated \$50,000 for the memorial. In the August, 1914, copy of the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* one may see a photograph of the future memorial; the design for the memorial had been completed, in the form of a clay model, at the studio of Bela L. Pratt, in Boston. The location selected for the permanent resting place of the memorial was Copley Square.

The war came. The memorial story became forgotten. But in the year 1916, new activity is to be found. "Million-Dollar memorial to be erected in Boston", writes the *Boston Sunday Globe* on October 8, 1916, and bases the story on the words of the American ambassador in Argentina, Mr. Frederick J. Stimson, who said that the Argentina would soon present to Boston this memorial in honor of President Sarmiento. The ambassador stated that in Argentina, one day a year was set aside as Sarmiento Memorial Fund Day, that public entertainments were given, including Grand Opera, and that the proceeds were added to the fund for the memorial. The way the people took hold of the matter and the interest government officials had manifested in the proposition, led Ambassador Stimson to believe that the fund would reach the million-dollar mark.

The sculptor, Bela L. Pratt, who had been employed to prepare the designs, died in 1917, and the whole affair, apparently, blew up, in spite of the congress appropriation, the Sarmiento Fund Day, and the eloquent speeches. The monument in Boston does not exist.

J. F. NORMANO.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Investigators who contemplate working in the Archives of the Indies will be interested to learn that the new Republican government of Spain has just promulgated a law creating a center of studies of American History at Seville. A paragraph from the long "exposition of motives" is perhaps worth quoting:

The General Archives of the Indies which is located at Seville, the veritable metropolis of our colonial empire, constitute the most adequate instrument for embarking on the historical study of that past which it especially behooves Spain to encourage and maintain. In view of the fact that these archives, as an invaluable arsenal of historical culture, produce the maximum returns, it is here that the efforts of the Spanish state should be concentrated. For this reason, and independently of the improvements which will be made in internal organization of the archives through increased endowment and careful selection of personnel,

the government has decided to create a center of historical studies of America which will constitute an organ of historical investigations where will be carried on the scientific training of young investigators, both national and foreign, who contemplate working in the archives, and effective aid will be furnished them after their instruction is completed.

The law creating this new center of historical studies has ten articles. It assumes that the courses to be offered will include such subjects as archaeology, Hispanic American art, historical geography of America, and the bibliography and palaeography of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Courses primarily intended for foreigners will also be offered on the history of Spanish institutions both preceding and following the colonial period, as well as on Spanish language and literature. Courses will be arranged for foreign professors. The center of historical studies will be in charge of a technical director and a committee composed of the director himself, the rector of the University of Seville, the dean of the faculty of philosophy and letters of the same university, a representative of the Archives of the Indies, and a representative of the Instituto Hispano-Cubano. An annual budget of 175,000 pesetas is provided for the salaries of the personnel of the center of historical studies.—P. A. M.

The provisional Government of Argentina has published a decree providing for the creation of an Argentine Academy of Letters. According to the terms of the decree its functions will be as follows:

To give unity to the study of the language and the literary productions of the nation, with the aim of preserving and developing the richness of the language.

To exercise a control over the creation and distribution of literary prizes.

To stimulate the progress of the national theater as an important factor in education.

To safeguard the correctness and purity of the language.

The decision of the government was based on the following "considerations":

That the Spanish language has acquired in this country peculiarities which should be the object of study by specialists.

That it is fitting that the state should assure to writers the social rank to which they are entitled and should bring to the public the realization of the importance of literature.

That these desiderata may be attained through the creation of an Academy of Letters analogous to those existing in other countries.

According to the decree the academy shall consist of twenty members "of an honorary character". Nothing is stated in regard to the method to be followed in recruiting members in the future. The list of these twenty members is given in the decree. Among those chosen figure such names as Leopoldo Lugones, Juan B. Terán, Clemente Ricci, Enrique Larreta, Ricardo Manuel Gálvez, Arturo Capdevila, Carlos Ibarguren. It is evident that the term "literature" is envisaged in a rather comprehensive sense and will embrace at least a part of the historical field. Some of the names mentioned are of historians rather than *littérateurs*; especially is this true of Dr. Clemente Ricci, the greatest living authority on Roman History in Hispanic America. The progress and influence of this new academy will be followed with considerable interest by students of Argentine cultural history.—P. A. M.

The George Washington University will give in its 1932 summer session a Seminar Conference on Hispanic American affairs which will offer to those students whose interests lie in the field of Hispanic American history and civilization an exceptional opportunity to come into intimate contact with leading authorities. The course has been so arranged that mutual views and opinions can be exchanged with the utmost facility and answers to perplexing questions can be found. The conference will meet two hours daily, five times a week, for six weeks. The first portion of each of the periods will be devoted to lectures and the last portion to informal discussions. Each student will be provided with reading references for all lectures, term papers will be required, and a comprehensive examination will be given. Students satisfactorily passing the course will be granted four academic credits. The lecturers for the course are Professor Arthur P. Whitaker, Dr. S. G. Morley, Professor S. G. Inman, Professor Mary W. Williams, Dr. W. R. Manning, Professor N. Andrew N. Cleven, Professor C. F. Jones, Dr. Constantine McGuire, Miss Heloise Brainerd, Dr. C. K. Jones, Dr. E. Gil Borges, Professor J. Fred Rippy, Professor C. C. Tansill, Dr. James A. Robertson, and Professor A. Curtis Wilgus, who organized the course and who will have charge of it.

In October, 1931, Dr. David Rubio was appointed consultant in Spanish and Spanish American literature in the Library of Congress

where he is giving special attention to the purchase of materials under the fund created recently by Archer M. Huntington. The conditions attached to that fund, it will be remembered, are "that the books purchased shall relate to Spanish, Portuguese, and South American arts, crafts, literature, and history only; that the said books shall have been published not more than ten years previously". Dr. Rubio's appointment has given an added impetus to the rounding up and acquisition of such materials and new purchases are continually being made. Dr. Rubio is also head of the department of Romance Languages at the Catholic University of America. He is a graduate of the University of San Marcos, Lima, Peru, the oldest university in the Americas. His doctorate was taken in Universidad Central of Madrid, and he is a corresponding member of the Spanish Academy. Before coming to Washington, he was professor of Spanish at Villanova and Swarthmore colleges; and he is now president of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and editor in chief of "Romance Language Series" of the Catholic University of America. Among other publications in which he has collaborated are a Spanish anthology, a volume of Spanish fables, and *Spanish Wit and Humor*; and he is now writing a history of the University of San Marcos.

Professor Percy Alvin Martin, of Stanford University, will teach at the University of Washington during the summer session of 1932. He will give one lecture course on "Spain in America" and a seminar on the diplomatic relations between Hispanic America and the United States.

The Scientific Pan American Congress scheduled for Mexico in 1932 has been postponed until November, 1933. This should give an opportunity for the preparation of a greater number of papers than would have been possible had the original plan been adhered to.

By virtue of the Archer M. Huntington Fund in the Library of Congress, there was added to the Library from this source for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1931, 1,483 titles, representing 1,951 volumes.

During the fiscal year 1931, there were added to the manuscript reproductions in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, 79,237 pages from Spanish archives and 32,113 from Mexican archives.

Miss Elizabeth Howard West has had charge of operations in Seville, and Mr. Robert S. Chamberlain, of operations in Mexico. The papers from Spain have come from the Archivo Histórico Nacional, sección Estado, relating to American diplomacy to 1831, and from Seville, mainly from the Papeles de Cuba and the Audiencia of Guadalajara. Those from Mexico have come mostly from the Archivo General and the Biblioteca Nacional. From France have come 2,644 pages of materials from the Mexican Manuscripts collected or copied by Father Pichardo. These relate to the boundaries between the French and Spanish possessions in North America. This work is being carried on by virtue of the fund established by John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

Dr. Fernando Ortiz, the Cuban scholar, now in Washington, D. C., delivered an interesting address at the meeting of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America held at Town Hall Club, New York City, on "American Responsibilities for Cuba's Troubles". The statements made constitute a clear exposition of the viewpoint of those opposed to the present administration in Cuba.

Miss Stella Risley Clemence, of the Library of Congress has completed the proofreading of her Calendar of the Peruvian Papers of the Harkness Collection, which it will be remembered were presented to the Library of Congress some time ago. The documents range in date from 1531 to 1650, about half of them being of the decades 1531-1550. More than 2,000 persons are mentioned in these documents, so that the calendar will furnish a great deal of information relative to the early Spaniards in Peru. Miss Clemence has transcribed entire the letters written by or to the Pizarros and Almagro—seventy documents in all. These will probably be published in a separate volume, according to the report of the Chief of the Manuscript Division of the Library for 1931.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

DESCRIPTIVE CALENDAR OF SOUTH AMERICAN MANUSCRIPTS

INTRODUCTION

I

Origin of the Collection

For some sixteen years Northwestern University Library at Evanston, Illinois, has possessed a considerable assortment of South American papers. This collection of 64 volumes¹ is made up of original manuscripts, copies of documents, and a few rare prints. In the library they are grouped under the generic title "MSS. Bolivia"² for they originally came to this institution from the city of La Paz, Bolivia.

¹ Below is a complete list of the collection, arranged according to binder dates and titles:

- | | | |
|---------------|---------------|---|
| 1. 1574-1799 | MSS. Bolivia. | Documents |
| 2. 1605-1609 | " " | Government Ledger |
| 3. 1610-1813 | " " | Miscellaneous |
| 4. 1642 | " " | Lawsuit of C. Arias Sotelo |
| 5. 1682-1833 | " " | Sale of Lands |
| 6. 1691-1692 | " " | Statistics [Hacienda] |
| 7. 1695-1706 | " " | Ledger of the Auditorship of La Paz |
| 8. 1701-1808 | " " | History of La Paz |
| 9. 1721-1722 | " " | Treasury |
| 10. 1745-1861 | " " | Letters and Receipts |
| 11. 1768-1803 | " " | Juzgado-Expedientes |
| 12. 1772-1826 | " " | Miscellaneous Documents |
| 13. 1776-1826 | " " | José C. Ortiz de Ariñez and Mateo de Ariñez |
| 14. 1780-1824 | " " | Administrative Registry |
| 15. 1799 | " " | Manual of the Treasury of Guayana |
| 16. 1799 | " " | Account Book of the Treasury of Guayana |
| 17. 1800 | " " | Statistics |

² In future references, the abbreviation "MB" will be substituted for "MSS. Bolivia"; "Doc." will be substituted for "Document".

- | | | |
|---------------|---------------|---|
| 18. 1800 | MSS. Bolivia. | Ecclesiastical Affairs |
| 19. 1800 | " " | Religious Tracts |
| 20. 1800-1829 | " " | Documents |
| 21. 1800-1870 | " " | Ariñez-Castillo-Encinas. Family Matters |
| 22. 1802-1891 | — | Prints |
| 23. 1805-1850 | MSS. | Ariñez Family |
| 24. 1812-1874 | — | Rare Broad-sides |
| 25. 1813-1859 | MSS. | Book of Protocols from the Tribunal de Consulado of Lima |
| 26. 1814 | " " | Account Book of Don Antonio Cueto |
| 27. 1816-1825 | " " | Juan Christomo Esquivel Law Suit |
| 28. 1822 | " " | Apuntes para la biographia del Gral. José Miguel Lanza |
| 29. 1822-1870 | " " | M. Ortiz de Ariñez—Expedientes |
| 30. 1824-1892 | " " | Manuscript Broad-sides |
| 31. 1825 | " " | Presidencia de La Paz |
| 32. 1825 | — | Rare Prints |
| 33. 1826-1827 | MSS. | Military Affairs |
| 34. 1826-1828 | " " | Prefectura de La Paz |
| 35. 1826-1836 | " " | Ministerio de Guerra |
| 36. 1826-1871 | " " | Miscellaneous [confidential reports concerning the Loan "Meiggs"] |
| 37. 1826-1873 | " " | Small Portfolio of Miscellaneous Docs. |
| 38. 1826-1875 | " " | M. H. Ariñez de Urrútia. Miscellaneous |
| 39. 1827 | " " | Gold Deposits. Notes |
| 40. 1828 | " " | Ministerio de Guerra |
| 41. 1828-1830 | " " | Libro de Ordenes Particulares de la 3a. Compañía del Batallon No. 10. |
| 42. 1828-1869 | " " | Juridical Tracts |
| 43. 1828 | " " | Misc. Tracts on Spanish, English, Physics and Military Service |
| 44. 1829-1840 | " " | Libro de tome de razon de Titulos espedidos por el gobierno |
| 45. 1829-1842 | " " | Colleges and Public Libraries |
| 46. 1829-1885 | " " | Letters and Autographs |
| 47. 1830-1888 | — | Large Portfolio of Rare Broad-sides |
| 48. 1830-1893 | MSS. | Documents |
| 49. 1832-1871 | — | Rare Broad-sides |
| 50. 1832-1882 | MSS. | Congress |
| 51. 1835-1886 | " " | Antonio and Nicolás Acosta. Letters |
| 52. 1841-1851 | " " | Letters to Gen. José Ballivián |
| 53. 1841-1851 | " " | Letters from Gen. José Ballivián |
| 54. 1841-1852 | " " | José Ballivián, Documents and Letters |
| 55. 1841-1861 | " " | Letters to Gen. M. Sagarnaga |
| 56. 1841-1871 | " " | Documents Concerning Gen. S. Agreda |

57. 1843-1857	MSS. Bolivia.	H. Ariñez—Prontuario de Leyes, Decretos, Resoluciones, y Ordenes vijentes, etc.
58. 1843-1870	" "	Revolutions
59. 1845-1873	" "	Statistics
60. 1855-1873	" "	Statistics—Minerals
61. 1862	" "	Diezmos y Primicias
62. 1868	" "	Bibolotti—Vocabolario Español Musateno [sic]
63. 1883-1884	" "	Provincia de Chiquitos and Laguna Gaiba
64. 19th cent.	" "	Villamel de Rada—El Hombre de Tiaguanáco

The collection was brought together by the Bolivian scholar, Nicolás Acosta, 1844-1893, of Nor-Yungas.³ Although it is a small place, Nor-Yungas always was economically powerful in the country. Its inhabitants therefore had political strength in the national government of Bolivia. This was particularly true of the Acosta family, which had a background of political tradition and was well known in the community.

The father of Nicolás, Don Antonio Acosta,⁴ several times represented the republic as an envoy to South American as well as to European countries and was considered one of Bolivia's most outstanding diplomats of the nineteenth century. The mother of Nicolás, Anita María (?), was regarded as one of the leading personalities among the politically minded women of Nor-Yungas. His brother, Claudio Acosta, was a distinguished general who gave his life to preserve the integrity of Bolivia in the Campo de Alianza.

Born on December 6, 1844, Nicolás Acosta grew up in the patriotic environment of his forefathers. In the village of Nor-Yungas he received his early education under the supervision of an old priest who still paid homage to the dead

³ Nor-Yungas is a village in the province of Coroico, located on the river of the same name, the river making a natural port for the village. Its altitude is 6,270 feet above sea-level, and it covers an area thirteen miles square and has a population of but 2,000 inhabitants. The Huaina Potosi Mountains form the panorama of the village.

⁴ Private and political correspondence of Antonio Acosta is to be found in MB, Vol. 51.

colonial system of Spanish America.⁵ Nicolás Acosta was later sent to La Paz for his college education and became a student of law at the traditional Seminario de San Jerónimo, one of the oldest schools in Bolivia. Probably at this school he received the degree of Doctor of Jurisprudence.

As soon as he was graduated, he started his political career imbued with the fervent ambition of a young idealist. He had two opportunities through which he could gain an insight into the political life of his country—one as attaché to General Campero in France and England, and the other as secretary to President Adolfo Ballivián.⁶ After this he took over the newspaper *El Titicaca* and started out to form the political opinion of Bolivia. Shortly afterward he founded and edited the newspaper *La Razón* through which, together with General Camacho, he led a violent campaign for a democratic policy in the republic. As a result of this he and his followers were exiled.

The important achievements in the life of Nicolás Acosta occurred during the period 1880-1892. He was elected a member of the famous National Convention in 1880 and as a result of the popularity gained thereby he became *Oficial Mayor de Justicia, Culto é Instrucción*.⁷ At this time Bolivia was still

⁵ The reason the priests of the republican epoch still clung to the colonial tradition is found throughout the collection. In spite of the exile of the Jesuits from Spanish America, it seems that the priesthood still preferred a monarchical system of government. Under this régime, they were privileged because the state carried out its responsibilities and extended privileges to the congregations as well as to the clergy. For example: although the laws of the church forbade a priest to deal with commercial affairs or to possess real estate, this was not enforced. The influence of the priesthood in the monarchical régime was so great that the government did not interfere with the priests if they violated church ordinances. MB, Vols. 4, 13, 18, and 19.

⁶ In the early seventies, the Bolivian constitution suffered from the conspiracy of Generals Megarez and Morales, who were both murdered while occupying the presidency. In 1873, Adolfo Ballivián was elected president, but he ruled only until 1874 when he died suddenly.

⁷ This and other information on Nicolás Acosta, I owe to Professor Juan J. Bedregal, Rector of the *Universidad Mayor de "San Andrés"* in La Paz, to Sr.

struggling with its dangerous neighboring countries which would not admit full sovereignty to so large a territory. In this situation, Nicolás Acosta during the time of his high state office, attempted by his pen to protect the rights of his country. This resulted in another exile in 1892 to the colony of Crevaux.⁸

We have little information relative to his scholarly works. His standard work, *Guia del Viajero* (La Paz, 1880) is well known, and the *Introducción a la lengua de Adan*, is considered one of the joys of Bolivian literature.⁹ Through his private library now scattered among various universities in the United States, and from the collection of manuscripts at Northwestern University, it can be seen that scholarly interests played an important rôle in his life.

As yet we have no documents to show how the collection came into existence. We cannot say whether Nicolás Acosta inherited the earlier documents and collected the later ones or whether he gathered the whole collection while he was a state officer. Conjecture would lead to a belief that his intellectual interest prompted him to assemble a collection which might cover the history of his country. As the collection includes papers on so many different subjects,¹⁰ official and private letters from high military officers and statesmen, and Raúl Jaimes Freyre, Director of the University Library, and to Sr. Ricardo S. Peredes of the same university. (Personal correspondences, June 13, 1931.)

⁸ The cruel treatment which he received at Crevaux caused so much discussion on the part of the public, that the government was forced to remove him. This incident provoked the writing of sarcastic proverbs and legends on the Bolivian officials which were recited throughout the republic.

⁹ Ascarrunz, *Hombres célebres de Bolivia*. Further published works of Nicolás Acosta are the following: *Bibliografía Periodística de La Paz*; *Biografía de Don Adolfo Ballivián*; *Biografía de Don Emeterio Villamil de Rada*; and *Biografía de Victorio García Lanza*; *Repatriación de los restos del General José Ballivián* (La Paz, 1893). He also edited and wrote an introduction to Adolfo Ballivian's book, *Escritos literarios y políticos*, Valparaíso, Imprenta del Mercurio, 1874. Of his unpublished works, the collection contains a manuscript entitled *Resumen de los principios del Derecho Penal*, Paz, Año de 1864. This manuscript is in MB, Vol. 51.

¹⁰ See pp. 251-254.

even confidential correspondence from the late republican period, one can see that only by influential connections and because of a belief in his academic integrity was Nicolás Acosta enabled to possess them. Perhaps he obtained the earlier documents from descendants of families prominent in state affairs and the later ones he probably accumulated through his friends¹¹ of the Bolivian diplomatic body of which he was a member.

The life of Nicolás Acosta ended very tragically. After his return in 1893 from his exile to the colony of Crevaux, he was, from his severe sufferings, already physically crippled. His wife, Doña Candelaria Rivera took him to their resort at Santiago, in the canton of Taca where she hoped that he would recover. Instead of this, they both contracted typhoid and died on the same day (October 31, 1893) one dying only five minutes after the other.¹²

As he left no immediate heirs, all the writings and the library of Nicolás Acosta passed into the hands of his nephew, Don Donato Lanza y Lanza, a writer on international affairs.¹³ This gentleman (now deceased) was once a prosperous industrialist, farm owner, and leader of the conservative party of Bolivia. He preserved the inheritance of his uncle for some twenty years during which time it was considered one of the best South American collections in that section of the continent. Because of financial reverses, Donato Lanza y Lanza offered the library of his uncle, Nicolás Acosta to the Bolivian government. The national congress had voted to buy it from him for 20,000 bolivianos and the library was already housed in the Bolivian senate, but the government could not raise the required sum,¹⁴ and the collection bears no other mark of

¹¹ A. Guzmán, in a letter to Nicolás Acosta (Sucre, September 5, 1884), states that he is sending him "folletos y documentos autógrafos". See MB, Vol. 51, p. 60.

¹² Raúl Jaimes Freyre, *op. cit.*

¹³ Ricardo S. Peredes, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ Walter Lichtenstein, *Report to the President of Northwestern University on the Results of a Trip to South America*. Northwestern University Bulletin, XVI. No. 1, September, 1915, p. 11.

ownership than that of "Biblioteca de Nicolás Acosta" which shows clearly that it was his private property.

In the year 1914, Dr. Walter Lichtenstein, formerly librarian of Northwestern University, went to La Paz while on a trip to South America in behalf of several institutions¹⁵ in the United States. At this time he spent in South America \$25,582.73 for 9,000 books,¹⁶ among which was the purchase of Nicolás Acosta's library from Don Donato Lanza y Lanza for the sum of 9,550 bolivianos only.¹⁷ No records are on hand as to the size of the library. However, it is reported that 30,000 sheets of what Dr. Lichtenstein calls "Bolivian newspapers"¹⁸ were taken over by the American Antiquarian Society; printed books by other libraries; and finally the collection of manuscripts by Northwestern University Library.

The total shipment from South America was despatched to Cambridge, Massachusetts, and was there received by Harvard University early in 1915.¹⁹ From Harvard University, distribution of the purchase was made to the coöperating institutions. The material received at Northwestern University Library consisted of several packages²⁰ of loose sheets entirely disarranged. Many of the papers arrived in excellent condition, but in order to preserve the documents which were in a fragile state, due to the quality of the paper and the chemicals in the ink, to their age, to damage from bookworms,

¹⁵ Harvard College Library, Harvard Law School Library, The John Crerar Library, Northwestern University Library, John Carter Brown Library, Northwestern University Law School Library, and The American Antiquarian Society. W. Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* For complete details see pp. 19-30.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 11. According to Dr. Lichtenstein, this purchase was enabled by the assistance of the American Minister, Mr. John D. O'Rear, and his clerk, Mr. José Ponte (*Cf.* p. 11).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁹ Eleanor W. Falley, *Report of Librarian, 1913-1914*, Northwestern University Bulletin, XV., Number 21, February, 1915, p. 3.

²⁰ Rudolph Schuller indicates that "the folders of these packages were labeled 'Banco Hipotecario de Bolivia' ". (Benigno Bibolotti, *Moseteno Vocabulary and Treatises*, Northwestern University, Evanston and Chicago, 1917, Preface, p. 7.)

fire and water, etc., it seemed expedient to the library to bind them without delay. Because of this haste, they were not bound either according to subject matter or chronological order. Hence, the major part are in fifty bound volumes and two portfolios, with twelve volumes in their original hand-made binding, making in all a set of sixty-four volumes of manuscripts and rare printed material. This assortment, in Spanish, with a few Latin and French texts, contains about 40,000 documents or records covering a period from the late sixteenth to the late nineteenth centuries, and relates to Perú, Bolivia, and also in part to Colombia, Venezuela,²¹ Chile, Paraguay, the Chaco territories, and Argentina.

²¹ Beside the Venezuela material in the Acosta collection, the Library has one volume of manuscripts, *Libro de Ordenes de la Capitanía General y Gobernación de la Provincia de Maracaybo, Venezuela, desde 1812 hasta 1820*, 26 1/2 x 36 1/2 cm., of 760 pages, containing the legislative and administrative acts of the Spanish government in the province of Maracaybo. This is not in the Acosta collection, but was purchased separately in Caracas, Venezuela. This volume has been described as follows:

"Este Libro contiene todos los Actos legislativos y administrativos del Gobierno español y del Capitan General ó Gobernador desde 1812, año en que por Cedula Real de Cadiz del 2/10 1812 se separó la Provincia de Maracaybo de la Capitanía general de Venezuela, poniendola bajo el mando de Mijares, hasta fines del año de 1820 en que terminó la dominación español de esta Provincia, pues con el Acta de Independencia de 28/1 1821, Maracaybo se constituyó en Republica y en federación con Colombia.

"Maracaybo fué en la época desde 1812 hasta 1820 uno de los principales puntos de defensa de los Españoles en el Norte de America del Sur, mientras el Interior estaba ocupado en su mayor parte por las fuerzas de la Independencia.

"El Libro empieza en sus:

Pág. 1- 32 con la promulgación de la Constitución de Cadiz de 1812.

" 32 Real Decreto sobre Amnistia general.

" 106 Don José D. Ruiz, Asesor de la Intendencia de Maracaybo y Auditor de Guerra Teniente de Gobernador, se encuentra de Diputado de la Provincia del Maracaybo en las Cortes generales.

" 109-114 Proclama convocatoria para hacer mas victoriosas las armas españolas.

" 118 Traslado de la silla episcopal de Mérida á Maracaybo.

" 138 Establecimiento de una Loteria Nacional.

It might be of interest to point out the value of Dr. Lichtenstein's South American purchase for the United States. Dean Thayer of Harvard University said of it:

But the most important new development of the Library is in the direction of South America. There appears to be no considerable collection in this country of the laws, decisions and doctrinal legal writings of the southern republics, unless perhaps at the Library of Congress. Yet in the process of time these countries seem likely to play a very large part in our commercial and, perchance, in our political life. As we grow more intimate with them, we shall need more and more to know something of their legal history and everything of their present legal status. For some years attempts have been made from a distance to acquire for the School the materials whence this knowledge might be drawn, but the results have been fragmentary. In the Spring of 1913, however, a chance came to take advantage of the journey to South America on a book hunting mission of the librarian of a sister institution, the skilled buyer through whom the School

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|------|---------|--|
| Pág. | 139 | La Provincia de Maracaybo vuelve á formar parte de la Capitanía general de Venezuela 12/9 1813. |
| " | 140 | Las rentas de tabaco de Guatemala deben pagar las dietas de los Diputados de Maracaybo á las Cortes generales. |
| " | 140-145 | Real Decreto sobre suspension de la Constitucion de Cadiz, y pena en la vida al que la aplaudiete. |
| " | 145 | Real Cedula de Indultos. |
| " | 169 | Referente al Contador Don José Ruiz de Monroy, Ministro de Hacienda Real de Maracaybo. |
| " | 180 | Core se erige en provincia. |
| " | 222 | Restablecimiento de las Casas ó Colegios de la extinguida Compañía de Jesus. |
| | | Etc. |

"Muchas condecoraciones concedidas en virtud de sus facultades por el Jefe expedicionario Teniente General Don Pablo Morillo, Conde Cartagena y Marqués de la Puerta, en favor de individuos del Ejército pacificador.

"El Libro contiene todos los nombramientos, ascensos y decoraciones de los empleados y militares de la Provincia de Maracaybo, y menciona todos los actos de interes general del Poder español, y está escrito con buena letra. La mayor parte de las Copias está certificada por los mismos Ministros de Hacienda Real Don José Ruiz y Don Francisco de la Guerra, de Maracaybo.

"Manuscrito voluminoso interesantisimo y en buen estado sobre los ultimos años hasta el fin del Gobierno español en America del Sur, con un Indice copioso correspondiente". (Quoted W. Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*)

acquired the Olivart Collection, a man singularly well endowed and trained for the work he was undertaking. Dr. Lichtenstein has now been in South America for a year, and he and his principals are well satisfied with his success. He has visited all the republics and has brought for the School complete, or nearly complete, collections of their legislation, the reports of their courts, and the works of their great legal writers. Much of this material has already arrived in Cambridge.²²

The Acosta collection deserves a great part of the credit expressed herein for, as well as law, it includes material on many other subjects.²³

II

Classification of the Manuscripts

The collection is composed of *State*,²⁴ *Ecclesiastical*,²⁵ *personal*,²⁶ *literary*,²⁷ and *anonymous* papers. A good many of

²² *Reports of the President and the Treasurer of Harvard College, 1913-1914, p. 134* (quoted by Walter Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*).

²³ See p. 253, note 30.

²⁴ Under the category of "State Papers", the collection contains originals and copies of Decrees; Ordinances; Cédulas Reales; Instrucciones; Political Papers; Legal Proceedings; Governmental and Civil Lawsuits; Governmental Ledgers; Records of Tax Collections; Bookkeeping of the Treasury; Records of the Caja Real; Records of the Hacienda Real; Entries of Customs; Intendencia and Presidencia Affairs; War Records; Correspondence of High Officials; Architectural Plans; Records of Different Administrative Departments; Records of Indians Bound to Personal Service; Protocols of the Tribunal del Consulado de Lima; Provisiones; and other materials.

²⁵ In the category of "Ecclesiastical Papers" there are Regencias; Cofradia Records; Copies of Bulas; Pastoral Letters from Archbishops and from Bishops; Doctrina and Cura Records; Inquisitorial Activities; Church Administration; Patriotic Debates and Sermons; Church Laws and Proceedings in Court; Records of the Private Life of the Clergy; Records and Donations and Acquisitions of Church Properties; Coöperation between Church and State; Church Hymns; Copies of Prayer Texts; Copies of Proceedings in Rituals; Gloria Songs; Church Statistics; Records of Commercial Transactions among the Clergy; Permits for Ceremonial Functions; and other materials.

²⁶ Under the category of "Personal Papers", are records of Business Transactions; Labor and Wage Records; Complaints; Petitions; Wills; Deeds; Property Disputes; Agreements; Bills; Receipts; Inventories of Goods; and other materials.

²⁷ The category of "Literary Papers" includes manuscripts on various subjects, such as: Descriptions of Conquests and Jesuit activities; Essays on some

them cannot be grouped in these five categories, however, because of their special nature. They will form the sixth class of the papers under the category of reports (*informes*). These separate manuscripts are mostly individual writings with salutation only, without any name or address. However, it is evident from the contents that either the author or the addressee was an influential personality in the viceroyalty or in the representative body of the *Consejo de Indias*. The papers are mainly statements or discussions of a confidential character and are especially of significance for social history.

The categories which are further analysed in the footnotes (24, 25, 26, 27) are mostly documents of an official character. They bear seals, signatures, and legalizations by notary publics. The remaining two categories, Anonymous Writings and the Reports, are not of course official documents, but yet their contents are of importance for research.

Under the category of Anonymous Writings, are important notes and sketches relating to various events of a private, social, and political character, as well as discussions of statistics, monetary activities, and civil matters. There is nothing to indicate by whom or to whom they were directed, but from the writing it can be seen that they came from the laity. The writers of these papers very often make use of proverbs which are at times both humorous and curious.

In the last specified category of reports (*informes*), the collection includes addressed and unaddressed letters of great interest, which are sometimes of an official and sometimes of a non-official character. The most significant example of this kind is an anonymous letter of 36 folios written in La Paz, and addressed to Don Francisco Ximinez de Mesa in the year 1784. This will be described at length in another place.²⁸ The orig-

well known Authors copied by Contemporaries; Studies in Anthropology; Studies in Aboriginal Linguistics; An Aboriginal Vocabulary; Originals and Quotations of Poetry; Biographical Notes; Bibliographical Data; Studies in Civil and Criminal Law; Literary Letters; Individual Correspondence; and other materials.

²⁸ See p. 256.

inals of the confidential material in this category were not preserved but were copied in the "Libro de Informes". However, the report mentioned above is an original letter, and therefore unique.²⁹

The vast material in this collection furnishes a variety of subjects of benefit because they are primary sources of information.³⁰ Neither space nor time would permit a discussion of all the subjects listed below. However, the list itself indicates the basic material which can be made available for interested students. These topics are dispersed throughout the collection. The documents logically divide themselves into two groups: twenty-four volumes relate to the Colonial epoch and the remaining forty volumes to the Republican epoch. During the period that Northwestern University has possessed these volumes, very little use has been made of them.³¹ For almost two years, the writer has been actively engaged in compiling from the documents on the Colonial period the *Descriptive Calendar* which follows this introduction. If conditions per-

²⁹ A complete transcription of this particular manuscript is being prepared for publication by the writer.

³⁰ Having classified the manuscripts in the aforementioned six categories, we can now divide them into the following subjects:

Administration	Education	*Mining
*Anthropology	Farming	Paleographical material
Art	Folklore	*Patristic discussions
*Bibliography	Geographical material	Philological material
*Biography	Government	*Physics [<i>sic</i>]
*Church	*History	Politics
Commerce	Institutions	*Religion
*Conquests	*Law	Social science
Convers. of natives	*Linguistic material	*Statistics
*Description	Literature	Tactics
Economics	Military affairs	Transportation

The star indicates that the collection has a specific manuscript on the subject so marked; the other subjects are found distributed throughout the collection.

³¹ Only two manuscripts have been utilized—"Libro de Ordenes", *op. cit.*, for a Ph.D. thesis on Spanish Government in Venezuela—submitted by Laura F. Ullrich in 1921 and "Vocabulario Español-Musateno [*sic*]" published in the Moseteno Vocabulary and Treatises, *op. cit.*

mit, it is expected that the rest of the forty volumes will also be calendared at some future date.

III

Historical Material

As can be seen, there are many aspects from which this collection could profitably be considered. The historical material offers to the student a clear insight not only into the nature of Spanish administration, but also into the life of inhabitants once united under the same colonial régime and now divided into various nations. Many specific documents record important social events which should by no means be overlooked in a complete history of the conquest of Alto Perú.

As an instance, the conquest and the foundation of Santa Cruz de la Sierra may be cited. This city, which once played an important part in the history of Peru, now belongs to Bolivia, and is the capital of the province by the same name, and still the episcopal residence of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.³² This section, so significant in the history of the conquest, was at one time known as San José de Chiquitos which was conquered in 1560 by Captain Ñuño de Chávez, a New-Christian of Portuguese-Arabic descent.³³ Later destroyed by war with the natives, its settlement in 1591 was removed to the west bank of the Guapay River. This settlement, called San Lorenzo el Real, replacing the previous one, was founded by Captain Gonzalo de Salis Holquín, also of Portuguese-Arabic descent, and by tradition a New-Christian. This captain, together with Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa, Juan de Urrutia, Pedro de Almarár and others reestablished the settlement of

³² The city is located 65 kms. east of the Andes between 17° 43'49" south lat. and 63° 8'28" west long. from the meridian of Greenwich. This extensive territory has an altitude of 442 m. and is occupied by 26,000 or 28,000 inhabitants only.

³³ This and the following explanations refer to the central and northern parts of Santa Cruz of today. However, the extreme southern part of this territory was taken possession of in 1548 by Martínez de Irala, governor of Paraguay (Gandia, Chaco).

San Lorenzo el Real under the name of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, the event taking place on May 21, 1595.

The Acosta collection opens with a manuscript dated May 9, 1574, relative to tariffs and expenditures on an expedition to this same Santa Cruz de la Sierra. From this it is quite evident that the history of this province based on the date 1595 is in need of revision. Not only did Santa Cruz de la Sierra under this name exist twenty-one years previous to its official history which dates 1595, but as early as 1574 it was already known to the conquerors as a most significant section for Spanish settlement. This is a single illustration, but it shows that more than one correction could be made in South American history by a careful examination of the "MSS. Bolivia."³⁴

Another interesting manuscript pertinent to the history of the conquest is written by the friar, Don Francisco Vidaurre.³⁵ This is a chronicle of the eighteenth century, describing incidents of missions and missionaries, as well as the conquests in the provinces of Tucumán, Argentina, Paraguay, and other regions of Gran Chaco. The chronicles begin with a narrative covering a period from the second part of the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. It consists of three sections, all of which are incomplete but of great importance.

Historical data on the first possession and foundation of settlements in the Chaco are given in great detail. This and another document³⁶ may be of significance to Paraguay and Bolivia in an adjustment of their quarrel over the Chaco.³⁷

³⁴ The manuscripts in mind are in MB, Vols. 3, 8, 13, and 29. Besides these, there are three more volumes on the Ariñez family, which was an outstanding one in the history of Alto Perú and Bolivia.

³⁵ MB, Vol. 1, D. 7, pp. 1-20.

³⁶ The writer has in his possession a photostat copy of a map of 1716 which should be consulted in regard to the Chaco problem. It is entitled "Mapa de la America Meridional en que trabaja el zelo de los Religiosos de la Compañia de Jhs. de la Prova, dicha del Paraguai".

³⁷ Through the courtesy of His Excellency, Don E. Diez de Medina, ambassador of Bolivia in Washington, D. C., the writer has been able to examine the documents in the controversy, but did not find that they were similar to the material men-

Sources on such a well-known subject as the colonial Indian problem can also be found in the volumes under consideration. A deep insight into Indian life can be gained in these documents. The natives were at the same time peasants, day-workers, and slaves, and hence were entitled to claim protection in accordance with the pro-Indian laws promulgated in Madrid. But generally, these laws were not put into effect, and the natives remained subject both to the state and to individual Spaniards and creoles. Several official documents and references prove this.³⁸ In some documents it is shown that the viceroyalty even so late as the eighteenth century hired out Indians to individuals who used them as slaves. From other documents it can be seen that the monarchy in Madrid instructed the representatives of the Consejo de Indias in South America to register each Indian who was without a master or patron. In the event that some Spaniard claimed service from one of these Indians registered by the government, the state should collect taxes.

In some cases it seems that the government paid bribes to caciques to make the natives labor in mines in which the Spanish creoles would not work. From this employment, the state collected revenue. However, in the anonymous letter³⁹ to Don Francisco Ximenez de Meza it is stated that the natives were the producers, farmers, and professionals, while the Spaniards were the collectors of taxes and consumers only.

On this subject there are extremely interesting petitions and statements filed by the Indians and sent to their so-called "protectores"—a type of official who was supposed to defend the Indians under all circumstances. Most likely the office of "protector", though established by the monarch himself, was one of rank only for they could not carry out their legal duties because of the anti-Indian attitude of the local administration.

tioned above. In particular, the map mentioned in the preceding footnote was not among those used by the experts in deciding this matter.

³⁸ MB, Vols. 2, 5, and 7.

³⁹ MB, Vol. 8, op. cit.

These documents show clearly that a native without property was regarded much as a domestic animal; but the profits from his property were absorbed by the *Cura Proprio*.⁴⁰ After the death of a native, the *Cofradia* of the church took over his property and personal belongings. His wife and children passed into the hands of the government to be loaned out for state income.

The report already mentioned (pp. 252, 256) is of special historical significance for the political events which occurred in Peru in the second half of the eighteenth century. It is an original letter, unsigned, directed to the general tax commissioner, Don Francisco Ximenez de Meza.⁴¹ The letter is a reply to an invitation which its author received to give his opinion on the financial problems of the viceroyalty during the terms of Don Manuel de Guirior (1775) and of Augustín de Jaúregui (1780), while the country was under the supervision of the visitador general, Don Joseph de Arteche.

The author of the report was evidently a high official and the manner in which he presents his subject shows that he was an economic and political expert in Peru. The matters of

⁴⁰ *Cura* is an ecclesiastical term generally applied to a priest in charge of administering the rituals of a parish and of guarding the souls of the people. In particular, it designates a presbyter who has the special mission of instructing the parishioners and directing the sacraments. These *curas* are classed under three categories: namely, párrocos, ecónomos, and coadjutores. In some cases the *cura* was also the title of an individual who had civil or ecclesiastical charge of tutoring groups of persons, who because of some physical or mental handicap, had to receive private instruction. The appointment to both these offices, however, was made by the government on the recommendation of ecclesiastical institutions. *Cura Proprio* is a term found in the Bolivian manuscripts which seems to be used for a clergyman who acted as a spiritual healer. The purpose of this office, also appointed by the government on the recommendation of the Church, was to bring about the repentance of sinners. Besides this duty, the *Cura Proprio* was also in charge of administering the sacraments.

⁴¹ The caption of this document reads: "CORRE COPIADO ESTE INFORME A FO[JA] 131 DEL LIBRO 10 DE CORRESPONDENCIAS". In spite of this clear indication as to the location of an official copy of this document, I have not been able to find a copy either in the archives of Spain or Peru. MB, Vol. 8, Doc. 114, pp. 1-36.

which he treats are royal and civil taxation; and in connection with this, he discusses the financial conditions of Peru for two hundred years previous to the date of this letter (1784). Here appears abundant criticism of the monarchical policy toward South America as well as of the colonial government and their administrators in relation to agricultural production, industry, commerce, and the political situation of the inhabitants and of the Indians in particular. The author brings up various laws and *cédulas reales* of different dates to substantiate his criticism and to show the harm done in giving too many privileges to the Indians. The freedom of the Catholic Church in being allowed to deal in ritual objects without taxation is also satirically censured.

This document gives bitter and tragic testimony concerning the political conditions of the viceroyalty during the eighteenth century but is also very valuable for the revolutionary movement of Tupac Amarú. Written by a contemporary of this cacique, the letter throws light on the nature of this revolution and represents it not merely as an uprising but as a general social revolution. The traditional conception is that the only important revolutions in South America were those carried on by the Spanish creoles against the monarchy and its representatives in America.

In opposition to this interpretation of South American history, the above mentioned letter and other papers in the collection reveal evidence that Indian struggles, for instance in colonial Peru, developed from their inner restlessness. An intense desire for freedom was alive among the Indian inhabitants all over the continent and led them to struggle for the purpose of obtaining liberty. The discontent and protest of the Indians encouraged the creoles to overthrow the Spanish rule, with which they were also dissatisfied. Conjectures would lead us to believe that the Spanish creoles, after having won their independence, would have set up an independent

monarchical form⁴² of government. However, it would appear that because of the Indians who would no longer tolerate a régime similar to the one under which they had been suffering for more than three hundred years, a compromise form of government in the form of a republic was established. From such an innovation in administration, the Indians could expect a more humane treatment. Carrying out this interpretation, one can see what an important rôle the Indian played in the independence of South America. So the Tupac Amarú movement arose. It probably was the leading revolution which blasted out that part of the western hemisphere for the later achievement of independence. The Tupac Amarú revolt approximately coincided with the Spanish-English war in North America. This stimulated the Peruvian natives in their struggle, because the British were already threatening Spanish rule. The English had their fleets on the Pacific Ocean and on the Caribbean Sea; Tierra Firme, and particularly the Guayana River, was a strategic point through which information could be despatched back and forth from Alto Perú.⁴³ These conditions give rise to the suggestion that the British had some influence in the Tupac-Amarú revolution.⁴⁴

(To be continued)

JAC NACHBIN.

Northwestern University,
Evanston, Illinois.

⁴² The fact that San Martín and others suggested an independent monarchy in Ibero-America is very well known. Bolívar's desire to be a life president of South America seemed to be of the same flavor as that of the Spanish monarch. But why did this fail?

⁴³ MB, Vol. 15.

⁴⁴ Grateful acknowledgment of assistance and encouragement during the progress of this work is made to Professor Theodore W. Koch, University Librarian, and Miss Eleanor F. Lewis, Reference Librarian, to Professors Isaac Joslin Cox and Joseph S. Galland and to Mr. P. R. Hershey of Northwestern University. The calendar was originally prepared in Portuguese and has been translated into English by my wife, Elizabeth Lurie Nachbin, graduate student at the University of Chicago, who collaborated with me in its preparation and to whom special thanks are given for her interest, encouragement and aid.

NOTES

The overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of the republic in Spain have naturally given rise to a considerable literature, much of which is ephemeral in character. In the restricted group of books and pamphlets which merit the attention of the serious student special mention should be accorded the work of a young Spanish scholar, Sr. Gonzalo de Reparaz (hijo), the author of *Los Borbones de España, historia patogénica de una dinastía degenerada* (Madrid, 1931). This substantial book of some 300 pages is a terrific indictment of the Bourbons and all their works. While the author would be the last to claim that it was written *sine ira et studio*, the more serious of the gravamina are supported by documentary evidence or by references to competent authorities. The book helps to make clear why the Bourbons had gradually come to forfeit the loyalty and respect of the majority of the Spanish people. Sr. Reparaz will be remembered as the author of the excellent manual, *La época de los grandes descubrimientos españoles y portugueses* (Colección "Labor", Barcelona, 1931) and a number of erudite works on geography written in Catalan.—P. A. M.

Henry R. Wagner has added to his studies of "Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America" which was published by the California Historical Society in 1929, a pamphlet under the title *The last Spanish Exploration of the Northwest Coast and the Attempt to colonize Bodega Bay* (San Francisco, 1931, pp. 35). The pamphlet is divided into two parts: namely, The Expedition of Eliza and Martínez y Zayas; and the attempt to colonize Bodega Bay. Part I. has an introduction or exposition followed by the translation into English of "Voyage to the Coast between the south Entrance of Fuca and the Puerto de San Francisco in the Year 1793 by Second Pilot Don Juan Martínez y Zayas in his Majesty's Schooner *Mexicana* of forty-six Tons"; and an "Extract of the Occurrences during the Voyage in the King's Brigantine *Activo*, under the Command of Lieutenant Don Francisco de Eliza, in exploring the northern Coast of the Californias from 44° N. to the Puerto de San Francisco, by Direction of his

Excellency the Conde de Revilla Gigedo, Viceroy of New Spain". Part II., in addition to its exposition, has a letter by Juan Bautista Matute, who had been sent to Bodega Bay to erect some buildings in 1793; and "The Diary which Lieutenant Don Felipe de Goycochea, delegated to explore the Mainland from the Puerto de San Francisco to that of Bodega, lays before the provisional Governor, Don José Joaquín de Arrillaga, and in Particular what he experienced during it". Two folding maps are reproduced, one a "Carta esférica que representa la Costa comprendida entre la Punta de Tutusí Meridional de la Boca sur de Fuca y el P^{ta}. de Sⁿ. Francisco reconocida por el Piloto dⁿ. Juan Martínez y Zayas, sobre la Goleta Mexicana este presente Año de 1793"; and the other a "Plano del Puerto de la Bodega descubierto por dⁿ. Juan Franco. de la Bodega y Quadra. Com^{te}. de la Goleta de S.M. nombrada Felicidad, el ano de 1775".

Professor A. Curtis Wilgus, of George Washington University, has issued recently through A. J. Nystrom & Co., Chicago, a series of twenty-five "Directed History Problems and Map Projects". These are issued one each to a sheet, on one side of which is an outline map, and on the other, the specific subjects and problems forming the *raison d'être* of the particular map study; a list of books having maps for consultation; a list of map problems; and questions for discussion and investigation. For instance, No. I is "The Geographical Background of Hispanic American History; Northern Hispanic America"; No. XXV is "The International Relations of the Hispanic American States". The sheets are so useful and so important, that it is a wonder no one ever thought of issuing them before now. These maps should be in the hands of all those who are studying Hispanic American history.

The Maya Society has announced a number of publications which are being issued through the Johns Hopkins Press. These are as follows: 1. *An Outline Dictionary of Maya Glyphs, with a Concordance and Analysis of their Relationships*, by William Gates, president of the Maya Society. This publication, quarto size, pp. xii, 174, plates and illustrations, is now ready (\$35.00). 2. *The Dresden Maya Codex*, pp. 74, full colored facsimile. 3. *The Codex Ixtlan*; a hitherto unpublished Zapotec historical hieroglyphic codex, in facsimile (\$18.00). 4. *The Codex Meixueiro* (\$15.00). 5. *The Codex Abraham Castellanos*,

an unpublished Zapotec geographic hieroglyphic codex (\$12.00). 6. *Tribute List of the Province of Yucatan, and the various Encomiendas, as levied by the Royal Audiencia in 1549*; Spanish text, with translation and annotations, edited by Alan Watters Payne (in press). 7. Oidor Diego de Palacio, *Procedure and Brief for those who should have to inspect, enumerate and assess the Provinces of the District of Guatemala*, translated with annotations. 8. *Manner of Government of Peru, as instituted by the Inca Huayna Capac*, translated with annotations and illustrations from the unpublished relation of Huaman Poma de Ayala. 9. *Mode of public Confession as made by the Indians of Peru, prior to the Spanish Conquest*, translated from a manuscript in the Vatican Library. 10. *Record of the Community Chest in the Towns of Amatitlan, in Guatemala, 1559-1562*, in the Spanish, Pokoman, and Pipil languages; original text with translation. 11. (Not yet announced.) 12. *The Madrid Maya Codex*. 13. *A Grammar of Maya*, by William Gates. The Society will soon begin the publication of a quarterly.

Made in Mexico (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, pp. 81, and 12 leaves) by Susan Smith, is a small volume of nine chapters as follows: Mexican Kitchens; The brown plate from Xochimilco; Mexican Market; Toys and Masks; Puebla of the Angels; Arts of different Provinces; The Sarapes of Oaxaca; A Tehuantepec Legend; Photographs of Mexican decorative Art. The keynote of the volume is the art of the people as exemplified by the every-day life. The language is simple and the book is written in a lively manner.

The Brookings Institution of Washington has published (1931), as its Pamphlet Series, No. 8, a treatise on the *Reorganization of the Financial Administration of the Dominican Republic* (pp. 105), by Taylor G. Addison (price fifty cents). The financial reorganization was made in response to the report of a commission headed by General Charles G. Dawes, who had been invited by the president of the Dominican Republic to organize a commission "for the purpose of making a comprehensive survey of the system of financial administration of that country", and on its finding to make the advisable recommendations. The report of the commission (April 23, 1929), was duly published (noted in a recent issue of this REVIEW). The president of

Santo Domingo requested J. Clawson Roop to remain after the Commission's departure "to superintend the putting into effect of the Commission's recommendations." Henry P. Seidemann and T. G. Addison were requested to complete the installation of the budget system and to devise and install the new system of accounting and reporting and business procedure. The present pamphlet is "a summary account of the nature of the recommendations made and the action taken for putting them into execution". It is divided into two main parts, namely, Financial and business procedure; and Uniform accounting procedure". In appendices are given various laws and various pro-forma financial statements.

The Deutsche Wissenschaftliche Buchhandlung at Leipzig, as vol. X of its series "Weltwirtschaftlich Vorträge und Abhandlungen", which is being edited by Ernst Schieltze, a small brochure by Ernesto Quesado. This is entitled *Die Wirtschaftsbeziehungen zwischen Latin-Amerika und den Vereinigten Staaten* (pp. 86). It is divided into four parts, as follows: I. Der Doppel-Erdteil Amerika und seine Wirtschaftsgestaltung, in which are treated Die spanische Siedlung; Die britische Siedlung; Der werdegang im 19. Jahrhundert; Neue Wirtschaftstage im 20. Jahrhundert; Die Stellung des Rassenfaktors im wirtschaftlichen Problem; Die Staaten amerikanische Lage; Die Wirkung des Weltkrieges. II. Der Panamerikanisiun; III. Das Problem des Zolltarifs. IV. Die Möglichkeiten der wirtschaftlichen Entfaltung der Zukunft.

The *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús de la Asistencia de España*, 7 vols. (Madrid, Administración de Razón y Fé, 1912-1925), by Antonio Astraín, S. J., is a monumental work. Vol. I treats of San Ignacio de Loyola, 1540-1556; Vol. II., of Laínez and Borja, 1556-1572; Vol. III., Mercurian-Aquaviva, 1573-1581; Vol. IV., Aquaviva, 1581-1615; Vol. V., Vitelleschi, Carafa, Piccolomini, 1615-1652; Vol. VI., Nickel, Oliva, Noyelle, and González, 1652-1705; and Vol. VII., Tamburini, Retz, Visconti, and Centurion, 1705-1758. The work contains much information relative to the Jesuit missions in America and the Philippines. It is to be regretted that the author did not discuss the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and its colonies during the decade following his last volume.

The *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas* of Buenos Aires, for January-June, 1931 (Nos. 47-48) which is issued under one cover, is an unusually interesting number of an interesting and valuable review. Among original articles it has: "Iniciación política de Vélez Sarsfield", by Abel Cháneton; "Duclos Guyot Emisario Napoleónico, Una Aclaración al Señor Tramond", by Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois; "Un Cuadro de la Divina Pastora llevado por Jerónimo Matarras a Buenos Aires y breve Noticia de este Personaje", by José Torre Revello; "Homenaje a Don José Toribio Medina: Discurso pronunciado en la Junta de Historia y numismática americana en 19 de Agosto de 1923", by Salvador Debenedetti; "El Testamento del Fundador de La Asunción del Paraguay", by Enrique de Gandía, with the actual will reproduced as an appendix; "Historia del Derecho Penal de América Latina", by Ladislao Thót (continuation). In the section of "Relaciones documentales" appear: "Los Caminos de la Costa de San Isidro", by Antonino Salvadores (with facsimile of plan); "Vestuarios populares y militares y Utensilios de Trabajo usados en la Provincia y Virreinato de Buenos Aires, en la segunda Mitad del Siglo XVIII", by José Torre Revello; "La Conferencia celebrada en la Plazuela de las Catalinas durante la Reconquista de Buenos Aires, 1806", by Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois; "Documentos relativos al Obispo Oro", by Fray Reginaldo Saldaña Retamar S. O. P.; "El Testamento del Virrey Pedro de Cevallos", by José Torre Revello. In the section "Inventarios generales o especiales", is the continuation of "Archivo General de la Nación, República Argentina". The Bibliographical section contains an interesting notice on Ulrich Schmidel by Enrique Arana (hijo), which is followed by a bibliography of Schmidel. In the section "Información General", are found: "Salvador Debenedetti. Contribución a su Bibliografía", by Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois; "Contribución a la Bibliografía de Andrés A. Figueroa", by id.; and other matter. The "Inventario de Documentos Publicados" is continued. There are also two other facsimiles plans and a portrait of Salvador Debenedetti.

The Arthur H. Clark Company published in 1928 a volume by Carl Coke Rister, of Simmons College, entitled *The Southwestern Frontier, 1865-1881* (pp. 336, \$6.00). The territory embraced in the southwestern frontier in 1865 consisted of the territory north of the Red

River, namely, the present states of Oklahoma, western Texas, and New Mexico.

Bulletin 91 of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, 1929) is *Additional Studies of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs of the Guiana Indians*, by Walter E. Roth (pp. 110). The preface of the monograph should by all means be read. There is a good bibliography.

An important addition to Bolivariana comes from Caracas (Editorial "Elite", 1930), entitled *Bolívar Conductor de Tropas*, by General Eleazar López Contreras. This will be noticed at length in a future issue of this REVIEW.

The American Geographical Society has published many excellent monographs. Of these, Research series, No. 16, *Peopling of the Argentine Pampa*, by Mark Jefferson (New York, 1926, pp. viii, 211) furnishes good collateral reading for the historian. It has eight chapters, as follows: The historical and geographical Setting; Immigration and political Conditions; Esperanza, the first agricultural Colony; Other early Colonies in Santa Fe Province; Southern Santa Fe Colonies; Colonies of Entre Ríos Province; The Railroads and the Transformation of Agriculture; Immigration as an Asset to the Argentine. There is also an appendix consisting of a Statistical table showing the annual Argentine immigration and emigration, 1857-1924.

The University of Oklahoma Press at Norman, Oklahoma, has published (1931) a short treatise entitled *Military Government in the Panama Canal Zone* (pp. 62). After a short introduction, the work in five chapters discusses: The treaty Basis: Development of American Ideas of Jurisdiction in Panama; Organizing a Government for the Canal Zone, 1902-1912; The permanent Government of Panama; The War and after: Military and Reconstruction; and the author's conclusions. A short bibliography of two pages completes the book. The monograph gives in convenient form the salient features of legislation concerning the canal zone, from the time of the treaty of 1846 between the United States and New Granada. It provides a ready reference for the evolution of United States jurisdiction over the region of the canal. It sells for fifty cents.

Mario Melo, who among other distinctions, is perpetual secretary of the Instituto Archeologico de Pernambuco, and director of the Museu Pernambucano, has recently (1931) published a useful volume of 72 pages, entitled *Toponymia Pernambucana*. This work adds to that of Alfredo de Carvalho, *O tupi na Chorographia Pernambucana* (1907).

Camilo Barcia Trelles, catedrático in the University of Valladolid, has published through the Compañía Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones (S.A.), a new book on the Monroe Doctrine, entitled *Doctrina de Monroe y Cooperación Internacional* (pp. 741). This study was written by virtue of a grant made for the purpose by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The author is a well known Spanish jurist and has held many high appointments. His volume will be reviewed in a future issue of the REVIEW.

The Pan American Union, as No. 6 of its "Bibliographic Series" has issued (December, 1931) a mimeographed bulletin of 112 pages entitled "Catalogue of Newspapers and Magazines in the Columbus Memorial Library of the Pan American Union". This checklist includes materials from each country of the Americas; and some from other parts of the world including European countries and the Philippine Islands. This is easily the most valuable checklist of this nature that has yet been issued, and is a most useful tool. It will undoubtedly have a wide use. The list was compiled under the immediate direction of the librarian, Mr. C. Babcock.

Leslie Thomas has published through William Morrow and Company (New York), a volume for young children entitled *Since Columbus: An illustrated History of America for Children* (1931, pp. 71). A few references to Spanish discovery are found. The volume, in its very simplicity, fulfills its purpose admirably.

The Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, 112 East 19th Street, New York, will hold its Seventh Seminar in Mexico from July 3-23. Its leadership in Mexico this summer will be unusually stimulating. Judge Allen (this will be her third summer), Count Rene d'Harnoncourt, Frans Blom, Charles W. Hackett—and others

to be announced. On the Mexican side are Moises Saénz, Diego Rivera and thirty others. The archaeology of Mexico will be given more attention this summer. Frans Blom has much to contribute. Many members of the Seminar will take the trip to Oaxaca and explore the recent excavations on Monte Albán. Those interested should write Dr. Hubert C. Herring, the Executive Secretary of the Committee.

Professor J. Fred Rippy has in press at the present time a textbook on the history of Hispanic America. In writing this survey, he has had the following objectives: (1) to strike a proper balance between solid facts, synthesis, and interpretation; (2) to treat the colonial era in such a manner as to give a correct impression of the movement of the stream of history through a period of three centuries and especially to give an adequate impression of change and progress between the years 1550 and 1750; (3) to avoid the handbook method in dealing with the national period and give the student the benefit of suggestions regarding the similarities and contrasts in the historical development of the twenty republics of Hispanic America; (4) to emphasize the important changes which have taken place in the region since the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century; and (5) to present an adequate survey of the foreign relations of these nations.

Comparatively small space has been devoted to scientific, literary, artistic, and educational achievements, although important developments in these fields have been noted. A fuller treatment belongs rather to specialists of those various aspects of human activity. In reading lists he has called attention to a few of the best historical works of Hispanic American authors; but because of the language limitation of students and readers he has made these as brief as possible. The volume has twenty-four chapters, seven of which deal with the colonial period, eight with the national period, and nine with international relations.

